CITY DOCUMENT.

# THE SIEGE AND

# CAPTURE OF FORT LOYALL,

## DESTRUCTION OF FALMOUTH,

MAY 20, 1690 (O.S.)

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE MAINE GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY, JUNE 2, 1885,

BY JOHN T. HULL.

PRINTED BY ORDER OF CITY COUNCIL OF PORTLAND.

PORTLAND, ME.:
OWEN, STROUT & CO., PRINTERS.
1885.

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H91

# PREFACE.

THE capture and destruction of Casco or Falmouth (now Portland), and its defense Fort Loyall, with the massacre of its people by the French and Indians in May, 1690 (O. S.), was one of those prominent events in the history of Maine, and of the local history of Portland, worthy to be held by its citizens in the highest remembrance. It has in the past been nearly forgotten. Although the documentary history of it, written nearly two centuries since by those who were actors or contemporaries with them, in those events, is voluminous and of great interest. It is not only preserved in the colonial records of our own country, but the archives at London and Paris contain full descriptions and accounts of the scenes of those days, given in letters of importance from those whose positions gave them the opportunities to obtain full information thereof. Under the auspices of the Maine Genealogical Society, and the aid of the City of Portland, I am enabled to publish the results of the investigations and researches that I have made in this almost unknown history, for the information of our citizens here, and those elsewhere who are interested in the early history of Maine. A record of the bravery and endurance of our forefathers of which all may well be proud. I am under obligations to those gentlemen who have aided me in my researches, and especially to WM. M. SARGENT, ESQ., for his valuable services.

JOHN T. HULL.

PORTLAND, *November, 1885.*

## EXTRACT FROM THE RECORDS OF THE MAINE GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.

AT a meeting of the Maine Genealogical Society held at Reception Hall, Portland, April 21, 1885,

"*Voted:* That Wm. M. Sargent, Charles B. Rogers and S. M. Watson be a committee to call a meeting of the Society on or about the twentieth of May next, to observe the anniversary of the destruction of Fort Loyall, should they deem such action expedient.

"Accordingly a meeting of the Society, called by the committee, was held at the same place on Tuesday evening, June 2, following, at 7 1-2 o'clock. The President and Vice-president being absent, Thomas Tash, Esq., was appointed chairman, who introduced John T. Hull, Esq., who had been selected by the committee as the speaker for the evening.

"Mr. Hull spoke of the importance of keeping in memory some of our most important historical events, and presented a paper entitled 'THE SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF FORT LOYALL; DESTRUCTION OF FALMOUTH, MAY, 1690,' which he read to a large, attentive, and much interested audience, for the space of one and a half hour's time. At the conclusion of the paper a vote of thanks was passed by the Society to Mr. Hull for his valuable and well prepared paper."

Attest: S. M. WATSON, *Secretary.*

## PETITION OF CITIZENS.

To the Honorable City Council of Portland.

*Gentlemen:* — The paper prepared and read by Mr. John T. Hull before the Maine Genealogical Society on the evening of June 2d last, on the "Capture of Fort Loyall and the Destruction of Falmouth by the French and Indians in May, 1690," was very valuable and interesting as concerning an important event in the early history of our city.

We think it of so great importance as an historical record, that it should be preserved by being printed at the expense of the city.

We therefore request your honorable body to cause to be printed in pamphlet form, such number of copies as may be deemed expedient, for the use of our citizens; and to make an appropriation therefor not exceeding the sum of $150.

*Portland, July, 1885.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Thomas Tash, | Wm. M. Sargent, |
| Wm. Goold, | F. M. Ray, |
| Edward Gould, | J. P. Baxter, |
| W. D. Little, | Wm. H. Smith, |
| Geo. S. Hunt, | Josiah H. Drummond, |
| Fred. Odell Conant, | Horatio Hight, |
| Chas. B. Rogers, | S. M. Watson, |
| John C. Tukesbury, | A. K. P. Meserve, |
| George A. Thomas, | Fritz H. Jordan. |

## ACTION OF CITY COUNCIL.

IN BOARD OF MAYOR AND ALDERMEN, July 6th, 1885.
Read and referred to Committee on Public Instruction.
Attest: GEO. C. BURGESS, *City Clerk.*

IN COMMON COUNCIL, July 6th, 1885.
Read and referred to Committee on Public Instruction in concurrence.
Attest: L. C. WADE, *Clerk.*

CITY OF PORTLAND,
*July 13th, 1885.*

The Joint Standing Committee on Public Instruction, to whom was referred the petition of Thomas Tash and seventeen others, asking that the City print the paper of John T. Hull on the destruction of Fort Loyall, having given a hearing to parties interested in the matter, beg leave to report:

That in the opinion of your Committee the paper referred to is a valuable contribution to our local history, and, treating as it does of the earliest settlement within the present city limits, its preservation and perpetuation may properly belong to the City as a part of its records, of which, relating to this matter, there is at present in its archives not a single fragment.

Your Committee, therefore, recommend granting the prayer of the petitioners, and the passage of the accompanying order.

WHITMAN SAWYER,
*Chairman Com. on Public Instruction.*

IN BOARD OF MAYOR AND ALDERMEN, Sept. 7th, 1885.
Report read and accepted. Sent down for concurrence.
Attest: GEO. C. BURGESS, *City Clerk.*

IN COMMON COUNCIL, Sept. 7th, 1885.
Report read and accepted in concurrence.
Attest: L. C. WADE, *Clerk.*

ORDERED, that under the direction of the Committee on Printing, a sum not exceeding one hundred and fifty dollars be expended in printing five hundred copies of John T. Hull's paper relating to the destruction of Fort Loyall.

IN BOARD OF MAYOR AND ALDERMEN, Sept. 7th, 1885.
Read and passed. Sent down.
Attest: GEO. C. BURGESS, *City Clerk.*

IN COMMON COUNCIL, Sept. 7th, 1885.
Read and passed in concurrence.
Attest: L. C. WADE, *Clerk.*

Approved, Sept. 8th, 1885. J. W. DEERING, *Mayor.*

Sassamonds Point
Indian Cove
Pleasant's Point

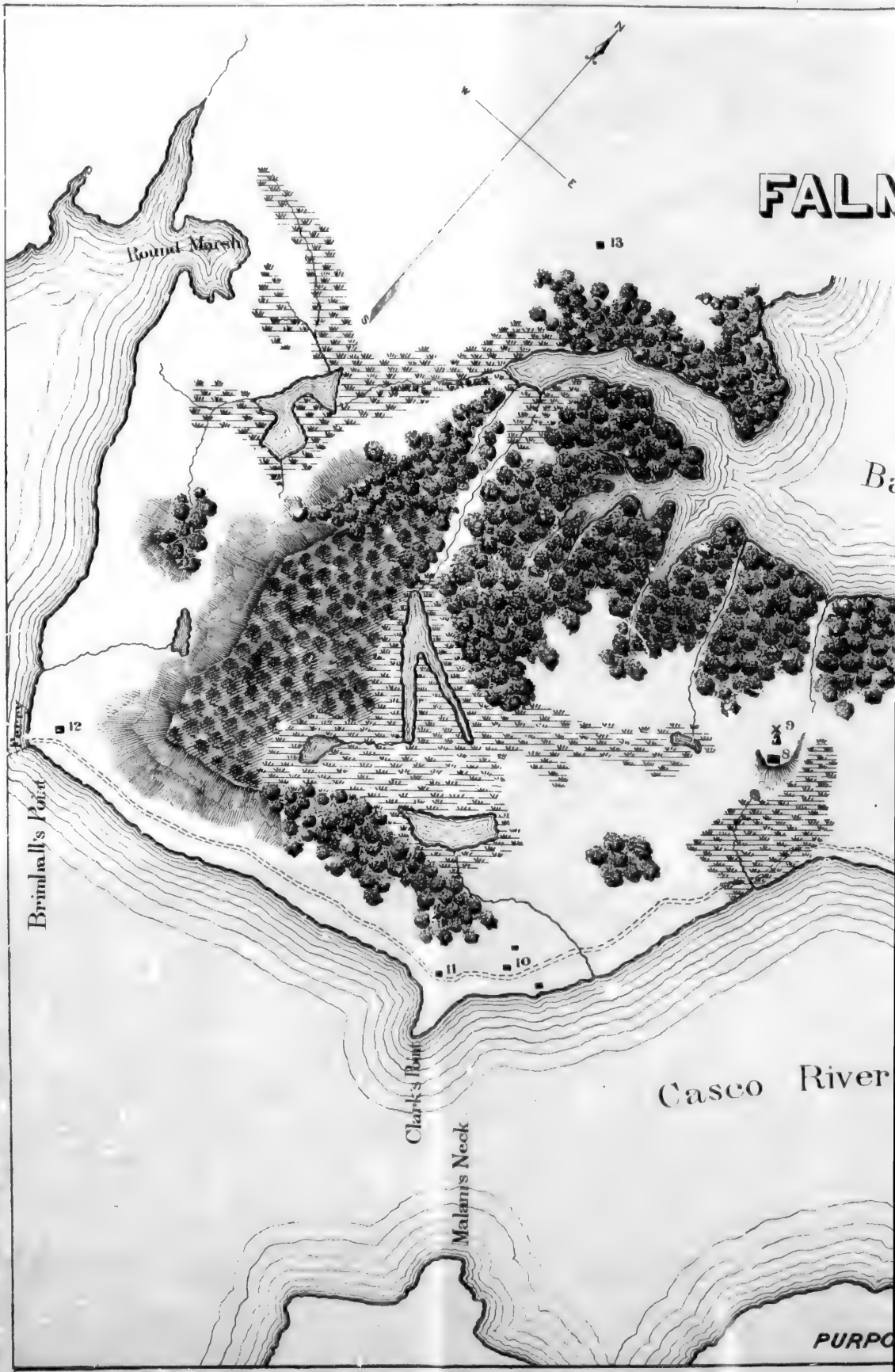
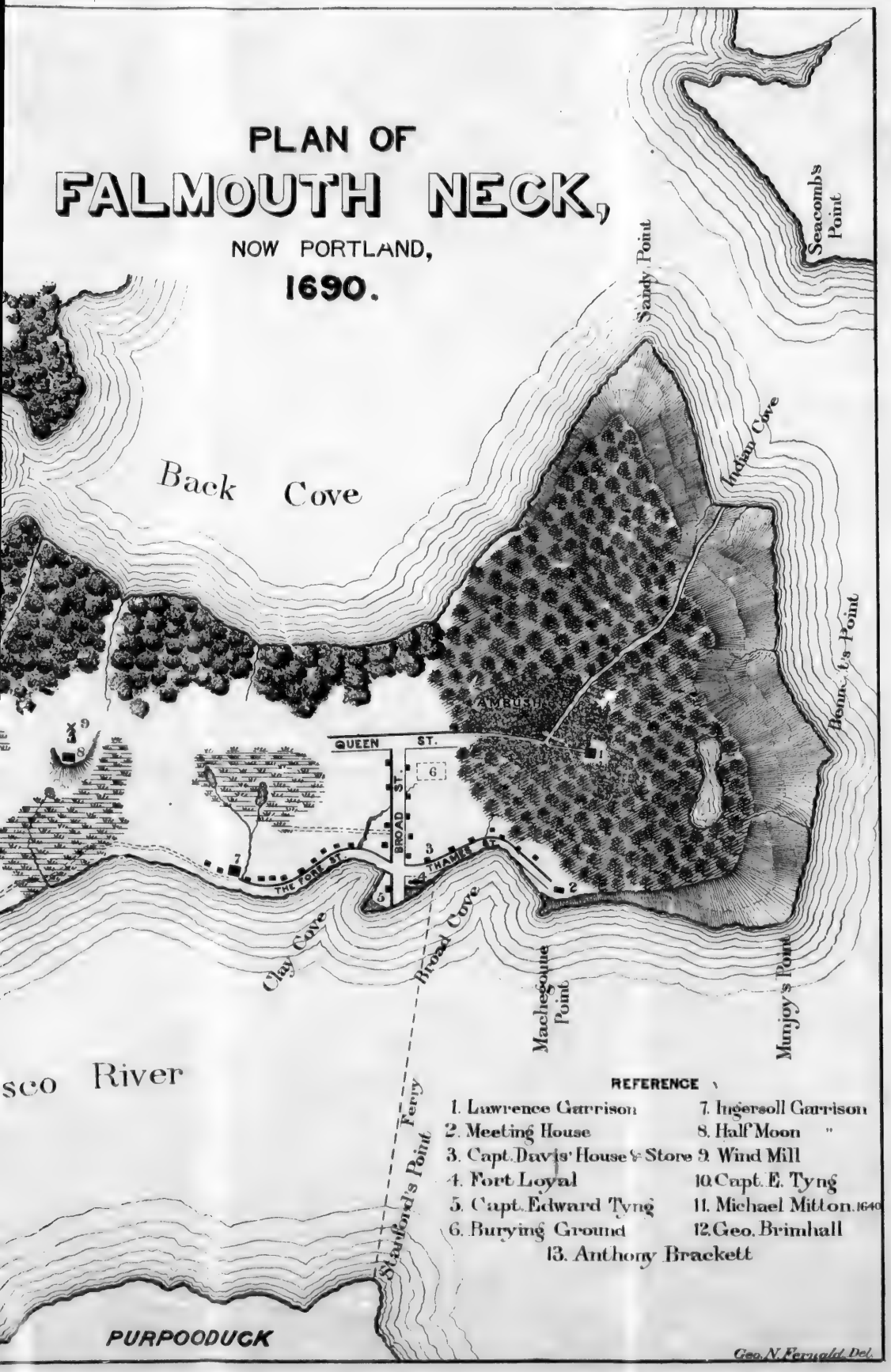



PHOTO LITHO FORBES CO. BOSTON.


PLAN OF
FALMOUTH NECK,
NOW PORTLAND,
1690.
Back Cove
Sandy Point
Seacombs Point
Indian Cove
Bonn. Is Point
AMBUSH
QUEEN ST.
BROAD ST.
THAMES ST.
THE FORE ST.
Clay Cove
Broad Cove
Machegonne Point
Munjoy's Point
sco River
Stanford's Point
Ferry
PURPOODUCK
REFERENCE
1. Lawrence Garrison
2. Meeting House
3. Capt. Davis' House & Store
4. Fort Loyal
5. Capt. Edward Tyng
6. Burying Ground
7. Ingersoll Garrison
8. Half Moon "
9. Wind Mill
10. Capt. E. Tyng
11. Michael Mitton. 1640
12. Geo. Brimhall
13. Anthony Brackett
Geo. N. Fernald. Del.



# THE SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF FORT LOYALL, DESTRUCTION OF FALMOUTH, MAY, 1690 (O.S.)

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

We meet here this evening[1] to observe the anniversary of one of the most important events of the early history of our city, and which is hardly known by many of our citizens. But little of its history has ever been written. No poet has ever sung of the brave deeds then done. Historians make but slight mention of it; although the sources of information, from which I have been able to obtain the facts which I shall lay before you this evening, are quite voluminous. It has been generally considered as the result of one of those unorganized Indian raids upon the white settlements, which were so frequently made during the perilous times and bloody years of the French and Indian wars. But the capture of Fort Loyall, and the destruction of Falmouth, May 20th, 1690, was not one of those ordinary savage attacks upon the homes of our ancestors, which were so common during those troublesome days, but it was an event of far greater importance in its inception and results. It originated at the court of Ver-

[1] According to the English accounts of the siege of Fort Loyall; the fort surrendered May 20, 1690. This time was according to the old style or Julian calendar, then in use by the English and some other nations. Subsequently in 1752, the English adopted the Gregorian, or new style, by which in the 17th century, 10 days; in the 18th century, 11 days; and in the 19th century, 1800 to 1900, 12 days were omitted from the former reckoning of time. Thus the 20th of May, 1690, would be June 1, 1885. The meeting at which this paper was read was on June 2d, 1885.

sailles;[1] was one of the parts of a plan approved by Louis XIV, having for its ulterior object the conquest of New York and New England, and the driving of the English from the shores of North America.

This day that we here commemorate, was a day of disaster; fire and blood swept out of existence an infant settlement, and left this then fair land of our ancestors desolate for a quarter of a century. But if the day we now observe was a day of trial and mourning, it was also a day of heroism and valor; and for that reason should always be remembered by us and our descendants. If the red cross of St. George did on that day go down before those who mustered under the "*Fleur de lis*" of France and the banner of Louis, amid savage war whoops and flaming homes! If on that day our fathers, overpowered by numbers, surrendered to their civilized and savage foes, and bared their heads to the tomahawk and scalping knife; it was so, from no want of courage on their part, for no men fought harder or with more valor against a stronger force than did the men of Casco, at the siege of Fort Loyall, by the French and Indians in 1690. No monument marks the spot where they fell! No marble temple enshrines their remains! With us, even most of their names are unknown! They rest with the unknown dead. I only hope that my efforts here this evening shall awaken such an interest that they and their brave deeds shall not hereafter be forgotten.

Nearly two centuries ago (in 1690), our present city (first settled in 1633), was but a small village; a collection of scattered houses near the foot of what is now India street, and along the street that led by the sea side.[2] But little inroad had been made on the primeval forests, except in the immediate vicinity of the rude habitations which our forefathers had built as homes for themselves and families. The ferry[3] and town landing was near the foot of

[1] See documents from the French Archives, post. [2] See plan accompanying this.
[3] The route pursued by travelers westward was by boat to about where the present ferry landing is, on C. E. side, thence horseback by the shore route, crossing the rivers near their mouths by ferries. In 1686, Sylvanus Davis established a ferry at about where Vaughan's bridge now is. A road was laid out to Scarborough, which shortened the distance some miles.

what is now Hancock street, from whence the adventurous traveler commenced his perilous journey which took him to Spurwink, Black Point, and the scattered settlements farther on. Opposite the town landing was the store and dwelling house of Sylvanus Davis, the principal trader in the town, and a leading actor in the subsequent scenes which I shall relate. Near the corner of Fore and India streets was the only public house in town, kept by Richard Seacomb,[1] who was duly licensed for that purpose.

At the foot of Broad, now called India street, was the principal defense of the town, Fort Loyall. It was situated on a mound and rocky bluff overlooking the harbor, and the base of which was washed by the waters of Casco Bay. This mound had a gradual slope from its highest elevation towards Fore and India streets. On the top of the hill was the Fort. There is no plan or description of it that I am aware of. It comprised a number of buildings built of logs, and surrounded by an outer-barrier of fence in a palisade form, on which at intervals were wooden towers for defense and observation. Loop-holes cut in them and its outer walls gave its defenders the opportunity to use musketry to advantage upon its assailants. The area of the fort was about a half acre. It mounted eight cannon. (The general features of the bluff on which Fort Loyall was situated are well remembered by some of those who are here present. But the whole aspect has been changed by the demolition of the hill, and the construction of the G. T. R. R. station. The site of Fort Loyall was probably thirty feet above the present level of the R. R. station.[2])

Thus was Fort Loyall in May, 1690, and on its defense depended

[1] In September, 1681, Richard Seacomb was licensed to keep an ordinary in Falmouth. In May, 1682, he was fined fifty shillings for selling liquor to the Indians. He came from the west of England, and settled at Lynn as early as 1660. His children were Noah, Richard and Susannah. He purchased a lot of land at Back cove, extending down to the present Back cove bridge, which now retains the name of Seacomb's Neck. He died in 1694. His son Richard lived in Portsmouth in 1715. (Willis, p. 242.)

[2] The construction of the R. R. stations, filling of grounds, etc., at the foot of India street, has removed all these old land marks that existed there forty years since. The old Weeks mansion that stood on the hill, the former site of Fort Loyall, was removed to Green street, where it is now kept as a hostelry, under the name of the "Portland House."

the safety not only of the lives of the inhabitants of Falmouth, but those of all the towns of the whole eastern frontier.

In other parts of the town were four garrison houses, which were intended as places of refuge to the inhabitants, when they heard the savage war-whoop of the approaching Indian foe. One of these garrison houses was located on Munjoy Hill, near the present observatory (see plan), one was near the foot of present Exchange street; one was on the rocky bluff, the site of the present Anderson houses on Free street. The other one, the location is unknown.[1] That one on Munjoy hill was built of stone, and commanded by Lieut. Robert Lawrence, who married George Munjoy's widow. The others were probably constructed of logs.

Our fathers were used to savage warfare. They were a hardy, sturdy race of men, good Indian fighters, and well understood the savage wiles. Their lives were spent amid the dangers of war and savage incursions. Every settler had his musket in his house ready for immediate use. At night when the family retired for rest, it was with grave apprehension that they might be aroused before morning by the blazing torch, the savage cry, and the shrieks of their victims, and when thus awakened, the family would gather in their hands such effects as they were able to, and hurry to the protection of the nearest garrison house, and would there make a protracted defense, until they received assistance, and their foes were driven off. War with the savages was no novelty to the early settlers of the frontier towns of Maine. Casco and its inhabitants had previous to this time had its baptisms of fire and blood. The fathers of many families had been shot down at their firesides, their reeking scalps taken from them by the red men, their wives and children, if not murdered there, carried through the lonely paths of the forest, captives to Canada. The early settlers of Casco were a brave race of men; they subdued the forests, cultivated the wilderness, reared their log houses, and made themselves homes, and when the necessity came they defended themselves and their hearth-stones against the savage

[1] See letter of Capt. Simon Willard, post.

Indians and their French allies; and we now believe that in the generations of their race that have succeeded them, that there has been no degeneracy of courage, or love of home or country; that the pioneers of civilization, who in early days defended themselves against the savage foes of the wilderness, were succeeded by those who at Louisburg [1] and on the heights of Quebec,[2] upheld the flag of England; and in the days of our revolution, on land and sea,[3] fought for independence and our country's right's, and who in the times of the late rebellion at Antietam, Gettysburg, and elsewhere, sustained the cause of the Union.[4]

Fort Loyall, the scene of the important events which we here today commemorate, was built by the Massachusetts Government.[5] After Massachusetts had purchased Maine from the Gorges' heirs, they deemed it necessary in order to protect the people of Maine from the inroads of the French and Indians, that a strong fortress should be constructed at some prominent easterly location. Falmouth or Casco (as it was called by both names; the English generally using the name Falmouth and the French retaining the old Indian name, Casco), being the principal town on the frontier, and

[1] A company from Falmouth and vicinity under the command of Moses Pearson, took part in the capture of Louisburg, June 17th, 1745. George Knight was the lieutenant; Samuel Waldo, of Falmouth, was brigadier-general, and second in command; Sir Wm. Pepperell, from Kittery, was commander-in-chief. (Willis, p. 420.)

[2] Among the persons from Falmouth who served in Wolfe's army at the capture of Quebec, was Captain Jedediah Preble, afterwards brigadier-general, who had the command of a company of Provincial troops. He was near Gen. Wolfe when he fell, and was wounded in the thigh. Also, John Waite, afterwards a colonel, and sheriff of Cumberland county. He commanded a transport at that time. Also, William McLellan. (Willis, p. 436.) G. H. Preble in History of the "Preble Family," has some doubts as to his grandfather being at Quebec.

[3] The inscriptions on the silent stones and monuments in the Eastern Cemetery are impressive witnesses to the truth of this statement.

[4] Portland did well her part in the war of the rebellion. The numerous soldiers' graves in the cemeteries of our city, which a few days previous (on Memorial day) had received the decoration of wreaths and flowers, give enduring evidence of the sacrifices that were made by Portland in behalf of the Union.

[5] "It is ordered that Mr. Bartholomew Gidney, Esq., Capt. Joshua Scottow, and Mr. Silvanus Davis be a committee to manage the affairs of the new plantation granted at Casco Bay, and are hereby impowered, for the benefit of sajd plantation in building a fort, to sell one hundred pounds worth of land within the sajd province." (Mass. Col. Rec., Vol. 5, page 286.)

being accessible by water, it was deemed necessary to fortify it. Thus Fort Loyall was built by order of Massachusetts. Its location and description we have previously given. Its first commander was Edward Tyng,[1] distinguished in Massachusetts colonial history. He moved here from Boston, and married a daughter of Thaddeus Clark, who was a granddaughter of George Cleeve, our first settler.

In 1680, Thomas Danforth,[2] who had been appointed by the Massachusetts Council, President of the Province of Maine, accompanied by other distinguished personages of that colony came to Falmouth for the purpose of settling the affairs of the town, organizing a local government, and attending generally to such matters as were of importance to the rising settlement. The meetings for those purposes were held with the inhabitants in the rude buildings constructed within Fort Loyall. That was the town hall, selectmen's office, etc. There the town records were

[1] Edward Tyng (or Ting) was the second son of Edward Tyng, who came to this country with his brother William in 1636. He was born about 1649; his older brother, Jonathan, in 1642. He owned large tracts of land in Falmouth, one a tract of 44 acres which extended from Congress street to Fore river. It is the territory now included in State, Park and other streets. He remained in command of Fort Loyall till 1688. He was afterwards appointed the Governor of Annapolis, in Nova Scotia, which in 1690 had been captured by Sir Wm. Phipps. He was captured and carried prisoner to Quebec, and from there to France, where he died. He had four children: Edward, born in 1683; Jonathan, who died young. Mary, married the Rev. John Fox of Woburn (whose lineal descendants, have been and are now among our prominent citizens), and Elizabeth, married to a brother of Dr. Franklin. The last male survivor of the Tyng family was Wm. Tyng, his grandson, the sheriff and colonel in the British service in 1775. He died in 1807 and his remains rest in the Eastern Cemetery.

[2] Thomas Danforth was a prominent man in the history of Massachusetts and Maine. He was the son of Nicholas Danforth, was born in England in 1622; came with his father to Massachusetts in 1635, and settled in Cambridge. During a long life he was one of the most energetic citizens in the colony. He was the deputy governor of Massachusetts for 1679–1692, except during the three years of Andros' reign. He was President of the District of Maine with the same exception from 1680 to 1692. The settlement and reorganization of Maine under the Massachusetts government was made under his direction; and many of the titles of the seaboard towns, between the Piscataqua and the Kennebec, came from him. Under the new charter, 1692, he was one of the council from 1693–1699, and judge of the superior court. He was treasurer of Harvard College, 1650–1669. He was also commissioner of the United Colonies from 1662 to 1678, and filled many other important stations of honor and responsibility. He was frequently in Maine attending to his duties connected with the Province. A principal street in our city perpetuates his name. He died in Nov., 1699.

kept, which subsequently were burned at the destruction of the Fort.[1] Danforth believed that the town could be more easily defended by having a compact settlement made in the immediate vicinity of the Fort, and in order to induce the inhabitants to thus locate their houses, he granted to all who would apply, house lots on Broad, now India street; Fore street; Queen, now Congress street, and the other streets which had been laid out in that part of the town. It was one of the conditions of these grants that homes to be occupied by settlers should be built within a short time, as a settlement of that kind would contain within itself a means of defense against foes.[2] In consequence of these grants of land given by President Danforth, in a few years a village arose where before there was an unhabitable forest.[3] Some of the

[1] The following letter from S. P. Mayberry, Esq., to the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Portland, is of interest in this connection:

The early records of Casco or Falmouth, in which your city lies, are missing. There exists (with the following exception), nothing but tradition that there were any records, that I have been able to find. I have caused a search to be made in France in the public archives, also in Canada, which we were in hopes had been taken to, by the Indians. Capt. Nathl. Fryar of Great Island (Newcastle, N. H.), who was a prominent merchant, was employed by the government to visit Casco after its destruction, and his making no reference in this deposition to the loss of the records, I am inclined to think they were not taken until later, in the year 1703. Historians have usually put it down as in the Indian raid earlier. I would suggest this copy be placed in the files of your archives and that a copy be made on your record books, as then it will be accessible to the historian, and may lead to a clue which will be the means of their recovery.

"The deposition of Capt. Nathl Fryar being of full age testifieth & saith, That some time before Capt Brackett of Casco Bay died, being upwards of Ten years since I the Depont was There and sd Brackett told me there was a Record belonging to Kittery town, which books he showed me and I said it was so. And sd Brackett told me the Depont told me that he had it of the Indians, and further I know that people of Casco did improve the 3 books to record matter belonging to their town in and farther I the Depont told them that it would be necessary to returne the three books to Kittery again. But I do not Remember that it ever it was, and further saith not

Kittery ye May 13 1703 Sworn in Court
by NATHL FRYER

Attest
ELISHA COOK Clerk."

The above copy I made that it might be preserved.
Yours respectfully, S. P. MAYBERRY.
Cape Elizabeth, Me., April 3, 1882.

[2] Willis, p. 226. [3] Willis, p. 229.

houses erected were at a distance from the main settlement, but most of them were adjacent to each other, and to Fort Loyall.

The records of President Danforth's grants were as follows: "At Fort Loyall in Falmouth, 23d, 7 (Sept. 23, 1680). Granted unto the persons whose names are hereunder written, house lots upon the neck of land near the Fort. 1. To Mr. Bartholomew Gedney[1] on the westerly side of the cove, one lot. . . . . 2. To John Ingerson, one lot. 3. To George Ingerson, one lot. 4. To John Marston, do. 5. To Isaac Davis, do. 6. To Francis Nichols, do. 7. Thomas Mason, do. 8. Samuel Ingerson, do. 9. John Skillin, do. 10. To Joseph Ingerson, do. 11. To Lt. George Ingerson, do." These lots were on the west side of Clay Cove, on the north side of Fore street, and extended as far as is now Union street. The lots granted on the east side of Broad (now India street), were as follows: 1. To Daniel Smith the first lot next to the Fort. This was on the corner of Fore and India, in late years known as the "Stetson lot." 2. To Wm. Clement, the second lot. 3d. John Lowell or Powell. Lots 4th and 5th blank. 6th lot was to Henry Ingalls,[2] and was at the head of Broad street. The lots laid out on the west side of Broad street were: To Capt. Edward Tyng, the commander of the Fort, the first lot (now the site of the International Hotel); to Henry Harwood, the second lot; to Michael Farley, jr., the third lot; John Augustine, the fourth lot. Lots granted against the great bay (which was the cove between where Thurston's ship-yard, as remembered by many of us, on Fore street, and Jordan's point now the location of the Portland Company's works). To Capt. Sylvanus Davis[3] the first lot eastward; to Mr. John Jacob,[4] the second lot; Ensign Nath'l Jacob, the third lot;

[1] Gedney was never an inhabitant. He was a land speculator here and at North Yarmouth; he lived in Salem. He sold his grant to Silvanus Davis. The lot extended back to what is now Newbury (formerly Sumner) street, originally named Fleet street; afterward Turkey lane. (Willis, p. 226).

[2] Two persons, Henry Ingalls, senior and junior, were living in Salem in 1696. (Willis, p. 227).

[3] See notice of Capt. Silvanus Davis, post.

[4] A John Jacob was the first deacon of the church in Cohassett in 1721, an

Robert Greenough, the fourth lot; to Mrs. Munjoy, the fifth lot.[1] It was also ordered that there shall be an highway three rods wide left against the water side (now Fore street, in old deeds it was called Thames street), toward the meeting-house (which was at Jordan's point). To Mr. Salonstall for Meshac Farley, the next lot eastward to Mrs. Munjoy, also another lot adjoining Mr. Salonstal. These grants were concurred in by the selectmen at the meeting held at Fort Loyall, Sept. 23d, 1680. Present, Lieutenant Anthony Brackett, John Wallis, Lt. George Ingerson, Ensign Thaddeus Clark."[2] Thus was the new town of Falmouth organized.

After the inhabitants had become settled in their homes it became a subject of much interest to them how they should be protected in case of an Indian war. The people themselves could not maintain a necessary garrison at Fort Loyall. The general court of Massachusetts passed several orders concerning the same, as follows:

"At a general court held May 11 1681, Major Pynchon, Major Sauage and Sam. Nowell Esqr. wth Majr Pike, Capt Sprauge, Capt. Wayte & Leftt Johnson are appointed a comitee to inquire concerning the present state of the Prouince of Majne & the setlemt of Fort Loyall & to consider what is necessary further to be doune for the maintenance thereof and to present the same to the Court forthwth.

Report of the Committee was as follows:

. . . . . "2d. For the fort we apprehend, needful that it shall be continued or defended, both for the securing of the people in these parts against Indians, and any bad neighbors, and also from the encouragement that people take from it to replant themselves there.

3d. In order to the majnteyning or defence of that fort or place, wee judge that there cannot be less than thirteen men viz., captain, a serjeant, a gunner & tenn private Souldjers.

aged and very worthy man (His. of Cohassett.) In the war of 1688 a person of that name was commissary for the troops in Maine. A family of this name was implicated in the witchcraft tragedy of Salem in 1692. (Willis, p. 230).

[1] Mary Munjoy was the widow of George Munjoy who came to Casco in 1659. His wife was a daughter of John Phillips, to whom Cleeves conveyed his homestead and other lands. The name and title of Munjoy's Hill comes from that source.

[2] For Thaddeus Clark, see post.

4th. Wee are informed that the people of that province are so sencible of the bennefit to themselves, that they are willing to maintaine six private soldjers.

5th. The remainder of the charge for the captains Sallery, Sarjant & gunner & fower souldjers w^th^ a magazine will amount to fower hundred pounds p anno. in country pay.

6th. Wee hope something to ease this burthen may be razed out of the beaver trade, and from the saw mills, and some other ways, which may in a little time wholly ease the colony of this present burthen."

Signed JOHN PYNCHON
in ye. name of ye Comitee.

The Court having pervsed the return of the comitee doe approve of it. & order, that Fort Loyall be mayntejned at the charge of this colony—prouided that the province majntejne sixe Souldjers—and the honored President (Danforth) is desired to take care of it that it be maintejned as little charge as may be."[1]

October 12, 1681, the General Court ordered,

"1st. That Fort Loyall a garrison necessary for the security thereof be maintejned henceforth at the charge of the province. 3d. That the annual revenue arising by the trade with the Indians shall be allowed towards the maintenance of Fort Loyall, the appointing the captain as well as of the other militia being still reserved as the charter appoint in ye power of ye chiefe proprietor. Further, it is ordered: that the arrears of the captaine & garrison at Fort Loyall be forthwith passed by the president of said province to ye Tresurer for payment."

"This order was laid before the council of the province, who authorized the treasurer, Captain Hooke[2] of Saco, to pay Captain Tyng his salary as commander of Fort Loyall, at the rate of sixty pounds per annum for himself and servant till May following, and to furnish necessary supplies for the garrison. They also ordered six men to be raised for the present supply of the garrison, two from Kittery, one from each of the towns of York, Wells, Falmouth, Saco, Scarborough, and Cape Porpus. In pursuance of the grant of revenue arising from the Indian trade, Walter Gendall

[1] Mass. Col. Records, vol. 5, p. 310.

[2] Capt. Francis Hooke of Saco, came from Kittery. He was a brother-in-law of Samuel Maverick, the son of the proprietor of Noddles Island, now East Boston. Capt. Hooke was one of the magistrates in Maine appointed by Massachusetts in 1665. He was afterward treasurer of the Province under Danforth. He removed back to Kittery, and in 1685 was one of the commissioners to make a treaty with the Indians.

the Indian agent, was called upon to pay to the treasurer £20 or as much as he has. The whole garrison consisted of thirteen men, part of whom were supported by Massachusetts." [1]

The next year, 1682, a further provision was made for the support of Fort Loyall, and a tax was laid upon the saw mills in the Province. The following will show the number of mills and the amount of the tax:

"In answer to an act and order of the council, made at the last court of sessions at Wells,[2] the 12th of April, 1682, viz., Maj. John Davess, Dep. Pres., Capt. John Wincoll,[3] Mr. Samuel Wheelwright,[4] Mr. Francis Hooke, Capt. Charles Frost,[5] and Edward Rishworth,[6] Recorder, Justices. . . . . .

"An agreement made with Left. Brackett about keeping Fort Loyall for a years' time, beginning the 24th of May, next ensuing, Province of Maine.

[1] Mass. Col. Rec., vol. 5, p. 326.

[2] Bourne, in his History of Wells, p. 185, says this court was held at Smutty Nose Island.

[3] John Wincoll of Newichawanock, was one of the magistrates of Maine appointed by Massachusetts in 1675.

[4] Samuel Wheelwright. A prominent man in the times in which he lived. A son of Rev. John Wheelwright, came to this country when young; was a resident of Wells. In 1666 he was appointed judge of the court of C. P. In 1681 he was one of the pro. council. In 1695, judge of probate and judge of the court of C. P. He was a highly useful and popular man. He died in 1700. His children were John, Joseph, Mary and Hannah. (History of Wells, pp. 231, 232).

[5] See Maj. Charles Frost, post.

[6] Edward Rishworth. No history of Maine would be complete without a sketch of this distinguished resident of Western Maine. He was born in Lincoln, England, came to this country and settled at Exeter, where he married Susan, the dau. of Rev. John Wheelwright. The name was commonly called Rushworth, that being the family name in England. He removed from Exeter to Wells. During all his life he held important offices connected with the government of Maine. He removed from Wells to York, and for thirteen years was its representative (His. of Wells, p. 39), as also representing Scarborough in 1659 (Willis, p. 147). One of his children, Mary, m. 1st, Wm. Sayward; 2d, James Plaisted. She was taken prisoner with her two children by the Indians in the attack upon York in 1692. They were carried captives to Canada. She was ransomed by Mathew Cary in Oct., 1695. Her two daughters remained there. (N. E. His. and Gen. Reg., 24, 289.) The "*Dictionnaire Genealogique*" quoted in N. E. His. and Gen. Reg., 28, 160, gives among the lists of English prisoners taken to Canada the following: "Mary Rishworth, dau. of Edward, of Lincoln, England, and Susanna (Wilbright), [i. e. Wheelright], born 8 Jan., 1660, in York; m. 1st, William Sayer (Sayward), 2d, James Plaisted; taken by the Indians of Acadia, 25 Jan., 1692, with her two children, Genevieve and Mary Joseph Sayer, bapt. 8 Dec., 1693, in Montreal.

"Mary Genevieve Sayer (Sayward), dau. of William and Mary (Rishworth), born 4 April, 1681, called Sister des Anges, Congregation of Notre Dame, taken in war with her mother and sister; buried 28 March, 1717, in Montreal. Mary Joseph, her sister, born 9 March, 1685."

It is hereby mutually agreed and concluded by the council and the representatives of the several towns now assembled at York, as the one party, and Left. Anthony Brackett, as the other party, of Casco. That for the present and more easy carrying on and settling of Fort Loyall, that said Brackett stands engaged from the time above mentioned, to be the sole officer taking the charge and care of Fort Loyall by continual watch and ward, to keep it as a fort ought to be kept, with all necessary supplies of men, six efficient men constantly during the summer season, and four men in the winter, with sufficient arms, ammunition and provisions, and what ever else shall be needful for that service, for the term of one whole year. In consideration of said Anthony Brackett, his performance of the premisses, the council and the representatives, in behalf of this province, do promise and stand engaged in the province behalf to pay or cause to be paid unto said Anthony Brackett, or his order, the just sum of £160 in money or pay equivalent. In order to the performance of this agreement to Left. Brackett of £160, we have calculated the value of the mills in several towns arising by an indifferent proportion as follows: Boards at 30s per M.

MILLS AT KITTERY.

| | |
|---|---|
| Mr. Hutchinsons, | £10 |
| Salmon Falls, | 10 |
| Humphrey Chadbourn's,[1] | 4 |
| Maj. Shapleigh,[2] | 1.10 |
| | £25.10 |

YORK MILLS.

| | |
|---|---|
| Mary Sayward's,[3] | £5 |
| Capt. Nuttache, | 1.10 |
| | £6.10 |

WELLS MILLS.

| | |
|---|---|
| Left. Littlefield's, | £4 |
| Jos. Littlefield, | 2 |
| Wm. Frost's, | 1 |
| Mousam Mill, | 6 |
| Kennebunk Mill, | 4 |
| | £17 |

CAPE PORPUS.

| | |
|---|---|
| Phanea Hull's,[4] | £2 |
| Gilbert Endicott's, | 1 |

[1] Humphrey Chadbourn was one of the assistants in the county court held in 1663. (Willis, p. 154).

[2] Maj. Nicholas Shapleigh was a son of Alexander Shapleigh, from whom nearly all of the name in New England are descended. Alex. Shapleigh was a merchant and ship-owner, and interested in trading establishments in Maine and New Hampshire. He visited this country previous to 1635. His son-in-law, James Treworgy, was sent over as supercargo. Nicholas Shapleigh was a chief man in Maine. He was appointed one of the commissioners to run the lines of Falmouth in 1659. He was one of the commission who made a treaty with the Indians at Casco in 1678, and held many other important offices. He died without issue previous to 1683. (Willis, and N. E. His. and Gen. Reg., 5, 345-9).

[3] The daughter of Ed. Rishworth. See p. 19, ante.

[4] This was Phinehas Hull, a son of Rev. Joseph Hull. He was a mill-owner in York and Kittery; was living in 1692, who according to (Savage, 2, 494), was a sufferer by the attack of the Indians upon York, who took his wife prisoner, Aug. 22, 1690, and kept her for their secretary until late in the year following. She was one of the ten English captives who were redeemed from the Indians,

| SACO MILLS. | | BLACK POINT. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mr. Blackman,[1] | £4 | Mr. Blackman's mill, | £1 |
| Thomas Doughty, | 5 | | |
| | £9 | | |
| CASCO MILLS. | | | |
| Samuel Webber's,[2] | £2.10 | | |
| Walter Gendall's, | 6 | | |
| | £8.10 | Total, | £70.10 |

A new addition of some other saw mills to pay these rents is as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Casco mill, Capt. Silvanus Davis' mill rent, | £4 |
| Cape-Porpus mills, John Barretts, 40s. | |
| John Batson's, 30s. | 3.10 |
| Wells, Jona. Hammonds & W[m]. Frost's mill, | 4 |
| York mill being John Sayward's mill, 20s. | 1 |
| Kittery Spruce mill, Mr. John Shapleigh, | 4 |
| Quamphegan[3] mill that is in Thomas Holmes' hands, | 6 |
| | £22.10 |

The next year, 1683, the General Assembly of the province on the petition of Henry Harwood, discharged him from the command of the foot company in Falmouth, and empowered "Capt. Anthony Brackett to take charge of it, requiring all the foot soldiers

Nov. 23, 1691, at Sagadahock. The Indians were very loth to part with her, because being able to write well, they had made her serve them in the capacity of a secretary. (Mather, 2, 610).

[1] This was Benj. Blackman or (Blakeman), who was an extensive proprietor at Saco. He was the youngest son of Rev. Adam Blackman who came to Connecticut in 1639. Benj. graduated at Harvard College 1663; ord. 1674. He married Rebecca, dau. of Joshua Scottow, of Boston, April 1, 1675. He moved to Scarborough in 1680; preached there; then moved to Saco, gave up his pulpit and became a magistrate. In 1683, he represented the town in General Association. In 1684, he purchased lands of J. Bonython. He as a justice of the peace in 1688, ordered Capt. John Sargent to seize some sixteen or twenty Indians who had been active in former wars and commit them to jail at Fort Loyall. They were afterward released by order of Gov. Andros. (Savage, 1, 194); His. Saco, pp. 168, 192.

[2] Samuel Webber was granted by the town in 1681 "the falls which are above Mr. Munjoy's land, on Long Creek, to erect and set up a saw mill & 100 acres of land adjoyning." He sold the mill in 1685 to S. Davis and John Skillings. He was also a witness on the trial of George Burioughs in 1692, at Salem, for witchcraft, and testified to his great strength. He died in York in 1716, leaving a widow, Deborah, and nine children. (Willis, pp. 236, 301-2).

[3] Now called South Berwick.

to obey him as their captain, till further orders, and in case said Anthony Brackett accept not thereof, then Mr. Walter Gendall, or whom he shall appoint, is here empowered to take the command of the foot company of Casco; and all the soldiers therein are required to yield obedience to him or his order as their commander during the courts' pleasure." Gendall is also authorized to take charge of Fort Loyall if Brackett declined the appointment.[1]

In 1684, the General Assembly appointed Capt. Joshua Scottow, of Black Point, Capt. Edward Tyng, Mr. Nathaniel Fryer, who lived at Spurwink, Capt. Silvanus Davis, and Mr. Walter Gendall, "to take charge of the repairing and well ordering of Fort Loyall, in Falmouth, and settle a chief officer there." And next year they order that the fort "be appointed a prison or jail to the four associate towns, viz., Saco, Scarborough, Falmouth, and North Yarmouth; and that the several Justices in the respective towns shall direct their mittimusses to the keeper of his majesty's jail at Fort Loyall, and there shall be a committee appointed for ye settling of said jail and the keeper thereof," the charges to be paid by the common treasury.[2]

In 1684, the government of Massachusetts seemed to have some very economical ideas respecting Fort Loyall — for at that time the following order was passed:

"The surveyor gennerall is ordered to deliver vnto Capt Edward Ting for the use of Fort Loyall one barrell of *powder*, of the *meanest* of the countries store, and *worst* and the value to be repajd by the Treasurer, as soon as the quit rents comes into his hands."[3]

The whole garrison in 1682 consisted of thirteen men, part of whom were supplied by Massachusetts.

The following are extracts from papers in the Massachusetts Archives — respecting Fort Loyall:

"Edward Tyng petitions for a new order for collecting mill rents. He says 'Whereas by an order of Council Nov. 11, 1686, all the mill rents in the Province of Maine were granted him for his care and service at *Fort Loyall* in Casco Bay which he has not collected.'

[1] Willis, p. 254. [2] Willis, p. 255. [3] Mass. Col. Rec. 5, 451.

"Edward Tyng's letter to the council of Massachusetts dated Falmouth Sept. 19, 1686, says 'he is in treaty with Indians, fears Casco will be the center of trouble.'

"Richard Seacomb, Petition April 30 1688, for mill rents, was employed in 1684 one whole year to take charge of Fort Loyall, and for compesation was to have the Indian trade for peltry and the rents of all the saw mills in the Province of Maine. The most part have not paid. Capt. Hook tells me I must get an order from your Excellency."

I have in a previous article written by me on the battle between the Indians and whites, at Deerings Oaks, in 1689, referred to the hesitating policy which Massachusetts exercised towards Maine after its purchase from the Gorges' heirs. That colony for many years did not seem to be very desirous of retaining her newly acquired territory, at the cost of a large expenditure by her for the defense of the frontier against the Indians and their French allies. Their recorded acts in reference to the support of Fort Loyall, clearly indicates that they wished to impose *all* the expense of defending it upon the poor settlers of Maine, who were, by toil and perseverance, endeavoring to sustain themselves in their rude homes in the wilderness. This wretched penurious policy of Massachusetts was the cause of the disaster which befell Fort Loyall and Falmouth in May, 1690.

Thus was Fort Loyall put into a semi-defensive state, to protect the eastern frontier towns against the attacks of the savage foes. Capt. Tyng remained in command until he was sent on an expedition against the Indians, to the eastward, in 1688.

Capt. Lockart was then placed in command.

In the Hutchinson papers, published in the Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, Vol. 1, 3d series, page 85, Sir Edmuud Andros,[1] gives an account of the forces raised in New England for

[1] Sir Edmund Andros was so prominent in N. E. affairs, that a brief history of him is necessary. He was born in London, Dec. 6, 1637, died there Feb. 24, 1714. In 1674 he was commissioned governor of New York, and received its surrender from the Dutch. New England having been consolidated, he was appointed governor-general in 1686. His government became very odious to the colonists, and he appeared with an armed force at the council chamber at Hartford, in Oct., 1687, and demanded the surrender of its charter, which was prevented by its concealment in a hollow tree, afterward celebrated as the

the defense of the country against the Indians; under the head of Falmouth is said, "A fort in Casco Bay, commanded by Capt. George Lockart, with his company, sixty men. The commander seized and forces withdrawn."

Following the example set in Boston, in seizing Sir Edmund Andros, the people at Casco, having no confidence in Capt. Lockart, believing him to be one of Andros' minions, rose and seized the commander. In Williamson, 1, 620, it is said, "some suspicions had been entertained by the Government (which succeeded Andros), that Capt. Lockart was unfaithful, that he had communicated with the enemy — for that reason the soldiers were withdrawn; but a letter was written from Falmouth signed by Anthony Brackett and others, in which they say he conducted with skill and fidelity while at Falmouth.

In the answer to Sir Edmund Andros' "account of the forces raised in New England for the defence of the country against the Indians," dated at London, May 30, 1690, the following is stated concerning Fort Loyall:

"Falmouth in Casco Bay. A fort formerly built by the Massachusetts Colony; is still continued; and better furnished and provided than in Sir Edmonds time, Capt. Lockart a reputed papist was by order of the Council for that reason dismist and Sylvanus Davis, an Inhabitant of that place and formerly commander of the Fort, in his room. Here it was that the Indian career was stopt, and they defeated by the forces raised since the Revolution of the United Colonies." (This refers to the battle with the Indians and Church's troops the year previous, 1689, at Deering Oaks). Me. His. Soc., 5, 395.

"Charter Oak." Contemporary documents, however, seem to prove that no such event occurred; that Andros really possessed himself of the original charter, and that a duplicate had been concealed some time previous. In 1688, N. Y. and N. J. were added to his jurisdiction, and Francis Nicholson was appointed lieutenant-governor there. A great prejudice existed against Andros in N. E. on account of his arbitrary acts. During his government he visited Falmouth and other places in Maine several times, and was quite earnest in his endeavors to suppress the hostile French and Indians. When the news of the revolution in England was received in Boston, he was deposed from his authority and sent a prisoner to England, but was there acquitted without a formal trial. In 1692 he was made governor of Virginia. In 1704–6, he was governor of Guernsey. In the Andros tracts his character appears more favorable than former historians in N. E. have generally regarded him. (Amer. Cyclopedia, in part 1, 488).

After Capt. Lockart's retirement, Capt. Sylvanus Davis, of whom we shall speak hereafter, took charge of the Fort, with a greatly reduced garrison. He says, in a letter to the Government of Massachusetts, "that he had but four men in the Fort, with one sergeant, and one gunner, and that he had supplied it ever since Capt. Lockart left.[1]

There are various causes that produced the second Indian war, called King William's war, which broke out in New England in 1688. In April, 1678, a treaty of peace was made with the Indians at Casco, and an end was put to the relentless war, which had been a scourge to the eastern settlements, and from that time, an interval of ten years, peace existed, and the inhabitants dwelt in safety within their borders and the shades of their own homes. But all the fair prospects of the settlements in Maine, and especially those of Casco, were suddenly overcast by the clouds of war.

Undoubtedly one of the principal causes of the renewal of hostilities was the situation of affairs between England and France. The revolution in England which deposed James II, the conferring the crown upon William of Orange and his wife Mary, who was the daughter of the dethroned monarch, and the triumph of the Protestant party in England, caused the commencement of a war with France, who espoused the cause of Legitimacy.[2] The colonies in New England to whom the name of a Jesuit was a horror, welcomed the accession of William and Mary, and were ready for the conflict in defense of the Protestant succession.

Another important element was the influence exerted by the French Missionaries and Jesuit priests over the Indians. For many years, and ever since the discovery and settlement of New France by the French, their missionaries had traversed the wilds of Maine, and had acquired an absolute influence over the Indian mind, had won their confidence to such an extent that the Abenakis tribes,[3] on the Kennebec and Penobscot, were com-

[1] Willis, p. 276.

[2] Louis XIV took up arms in defence of legitimacy. (Bancroft, 3, 175-6).

[3] Abenakis — or Abenaquis. These were the names of a group of Indian tribes of the Algonquin family, originally occupying the State of Maine, and

pletely under their control. Outside of the few frontier settlements of the English, the whole territory of Maine was occupied by the Indians, who were the devoted allies of the French, and they implicitly obeyed the orders that they received from Quebec, or from the Baron de Castine, on the Penobscot. Bancroft[1] says, "The Abenakis of Maine had been converted to christianity by the Jesuit missionaries from France, as they well understood, that conversion to Catholicism would establish these warlike tribes as a barrier against the puritanism of New England, and the encroachments of the English. Thus for nearly fifty years France had established its outposts on the Kennebec,[2] where, under its influence, the savage tribes had become their faithful allies in all the wars in which France had engaged with the English."

Extract from Paris archives, N. Y. Col. Man., 9, 433:[3]

"The Abenaquis[4] or Canibas, who occupy towards the coast, the country above Acadia, inland from Doagues or Mount Desert to the River Saint George which separates Acadia from New England, ordinarily reside on the River Quinebeguy and disperse themselves for the purpose of huntir g as far as Quebec whither they have been attracted by the missionaries. Of all the Indians these are the bravest and most formidable to the English. The experience of what they effected last year by the capture of Fort Pencuit (Pemaquid) and 16 palisaded settlements, ought to be an assurance from them, were they to receive

comprising the Canibas or Abenaquis proper, on the Kennebec, the Etchemins or Malecites, as far as the river St. John, and according to some, the Pennacooks on the Merrimack, and the Sokosis west to the Connecticut. During the early wars that devastated New England in the 17th century, they adhered to the French, whose missionaries converted most of them to Christianity. The tribes that were prominent under the instigations of the French, in the wars in Maine, were those who dwelt upon the Kennebec and Penobscot. They were finally overthrown, and their leader, Father Rasle, killed at Norridgewock in 1724. Many of them previously had emigrated to Canada, where two villages still remain, bearing the name Abenaquis, at St. Francis and Becanour. The remnants now remaining in Maine are called Penobscot and Passamaquoddies. (American Cyclopedia, in part 1, 19.]

[1] [2] Bancroft, 3, 136.

[3] Letter M. de Callieres to M. de Seigenlay.

[4] On the river Kennebec, in the present State of Maine, dwelt the Abenaquis, an Algonquin people, destined hereafter to become a thorn in the sides of the New England colonies. . . . . The Abenaquis were near the colonies of New England — indeed the Plymouth colony under its charter claimed jurisdiction over them; and in case of rupture they would prove serviceable friends or dangerous enemies to New France. (Jesuits of N. A., Parkman, p. 321).

some assistance for the expedition on which they can be led against the Iroquois in the direction of Quebec, and against the English toward Acadia."

Baron de Castine,[1] whose romantic career in Maine is so well known, had his residence on the east side of the Penobscot, in the now pleasant town of Castine, then including the whole country called Pentagonet. He married the daughter of Madockawando, the chief sachem of the Penobscot tribe. His (Castine's) influence over the Indians was boundless, and he had at his call, when needed, hundreds of the trained warriors of the surrounding tribes. He constantly, by fleet messengers, kept up correspond-

[1] Baron de Castine, or Jean Vincent de Castine. This distinguished adviser and leader of the French and Indians in the wars in Maine, who occupies so important a place in our history, was born in the year 1636, in a town in the Lower Pyrenees, of a noble family. He left his home when fifteen years of age, and joined the famous regiment of Carignan Salieres. The following year the regiment was transferred to Canada to protect the French settlers against the Iroquois. The savages were reduced to submission and entered into a treaty with the French. The services of the regiment being no longer needed, it was disbanded. He then came to Acadia; then subsequently to the Penobscot, and settled at Pentagœt, now the town of Castine, where he surrounded himself with Indian retainers, over whom, with the aid of the Jesuit priests, he had a great influence, and became a terror and menace to the neighboring English colonists. A free adventurous life had great attractions to him. On the surrender of Acadia for the fourth time to the French (Charlevoix, I, 464, Shea's Ed., III, 210), the government of that province was conferred again on Chevalier de Grandfontaine, who appointed Baron St. Castin lieutenant, by whom Fort Penobscot, Maine, was reoccupied about 1680 (Paris Doc., vii. 214), where a town at present bears his name. He married the daughter of Madocawando, sachem of the Penobscots, by which title he was adopted and elevated to the rank of chief. Longfellow gives this description of her:

"A form of beauty undefined,
A loveliness without a name,
Not of degree, but more of kind
Not bold, nor shy, nor short, nor tall,
But a near mingling of them all,
Yea beautiful beyond belief."

—*Atlantic Monthly*, vol. xxix., 334 (1872).

By thus identifying himself with the savages, he became their leader, and the object of their homage, and obtained their unbounded confidence. He carried on a large trade with the Indians and English, and accumulated a fortune of three hundred thousand crowns. He had trading houses at Pentagœt and Port Royal. He took a leading part in the wars against the English in Maine, if not always leading the Indians and their French allies, he was their counsellor and commander. After the capture of Pemaquid in which he was one of the French leaders, little is known of him except that he became heir to a fortune of £5,000 per year, and returned to France, where he died, leaving a son here, "Anselm de St. Castin," who is often confounded with his father by some historians. (This sketch of the Baron de St. Castin is mainly taken from the article "Jean Vincent Baron de St. Castin," written by the late Hon. John E. Godfrey of Bangor, published in the Me. His. Soc. Coll., vol. 7, p. 41).

ence with the authorities at Canada. His hatred of the English was intense, and for the injuries that the English inflicted upon him, he retaliated with a savage severity. The right of the French to the territory east of the Penobscot, then called Acadia, was undisputed.

New Hampshire Pro. Papers, 2, 46, 47, give the following account of the war with the French and Indians, called "King William's war," 1688:

"The lands from the Penobscot to Nova Scotia had been deeded to the French by the treaty of Breda, in exchange for the island of St. Christopher. On the east side of the Penobscot the Baron de Castine had for many years resided, and carried on a large trade with the Indians, with whom he was intimately connected. The lands which had been granted by the crown of England to the Duke of York, afterwards King James II, were to the west of the Penobscot river, and they interfered with the Baron de Castine, as the Duke claimed to the St. Croix river. In the spring of 1688, Sir Edmond Andros went in the Frigate Rose to the Penobscot, and plundered Castine's house and fort, leaving only the ornaments of his chapel to console him for his arms and goods. This base action provoked Castine to excite the Indians to a new war."[1]

Another account, N. Y. Col. Mss., 4, 476, says:

"Sir Edmund Andros, when Governor of New York, invaded them (the country called Pentagoet, eastward and westward to the river St. Croise), by force, and took the habitation of one, Mons. St. Casteene, a Frenchman, who thereupon instigated the eastern Indians to make war against us, with which was the frontier countries of New England, on that side, have been much infested."[2]

In a memoir respecting Canada, prepared by M. de Denonville[3]

[1] The new government at Boston (after Andros' deposition), in a respectful address to St. Castin, disclaimed any sympathy with Andros in his treatment of him, and proposed generous terms of arrangement. (J. E. Godfrey, paper, Me. His. Soc., Coll. VII, 56.)

[2] Andros was charged by his enemies in New England in 1691, with "involving the country in a war with the Indians, by meanes whereof he hath occasioned the Ruine of many Families and Plantations, yea the Death or Captivity of we know not how many Souls. *For he went (with the Rose Frigat), and violently seized and took and carried away, in a time of peace, all the Household Goods and Merchandizes of Mounsieur Casteen, a Frenchman, at Penobscot, who was allied to the Indians*, having married a Daughter of one of their *Princes* whom they call *Sagamores* or *Sachems*, and when this was done, it was easie to foresee, and was generally concluded that the *French* and *Indians* would soon be upon the English, as it quickly came to pass." (Andros' Tracts, I, 118, II, 50.)

[3] M. de Denonville to M. de Seignelay. (N. Y. Col. Man., Paris Doc., ix. 440).

in January, 1690, after his return to France, he says: "The good understanding which I have maintained with the Indians (Abenaquis), through the care of the Jesuits, especially the two fathers Bigot (the Rev. Jacques and the Rev. Vincent, brothers), contributed to the success of all their attacks this summer (1689), on the English from whom they seized sixteen forts exclusive of Pemcud (Pemaquid), containing twenty pieces of cannon, and killing more than two hundred of their men."[1] . . . .

Another important influence of the King William war was the activity of the governor of Canada, Compte d'Frontenac, and the zeal he displayed in its prosecution, acting under instructions of the French Monarch, and a brief sketch of him and his policy is in a historical view, of importance in this connection.

Count Frontenac received the appointment of governor and lieutenant-general of all New France in 1672. He was, says St. Simon, "a man of excellent parts, living much in society and completely ruined. He found it hard to bear the imperious temper of his wife. He was given the governorship of Canada in order to deliver him from her, and afford him some means of living.[2] Frontenac was thirty-two years of age when he landed at Quebec. He was a man of action, his object and desire seemed to be to make Canada a great nation." The jealousy of rivals and the opposition of the Jesuits, hampered his government, and caused his recall from Canada in 1682.[3]

The policy of his successor, M. de La Barre,[4] brought on a war with the Iroquois Indians, and dissatisfaction with the government, caused Louis XIV to recall him in 1684, and the Marquis de Den-

[1] The two Jesuits, Jacques and Vincent Bigot, were the prime agents in the removal of some of the Abenakis tribes from Maine to Canada to the St. Francis mission. They spared no pains to induce more of the Abenakis to join these mission colonies. They were in a good measure successful, though the great body of the tribe clung to their ancient homes on the Saco, the Kennebec, and the Penobscot. (Parkman's New France, 220, 221).

[2] Parkman's New France, 11.

[3] Parkman's New France, 67.

[4] This gentleman was appointed governor of Cayenne, when that island was reduced by the French in 1664. He soon after returned to France, and after various services to France was made governor of Canada. He held that office 1682-5. (N. Y. Col. Man., ix, 167).

onville[1] assumed the vacant office. During his term of four years the colony was brought to the verge of ruin, and the king saw that it was necessary to make a radical change in the government. Louis XIV recalled Frontenac from the obscurity with which he had been living in France, and restored him to the government of New France. He went back to Canada to carry out the scheme which Louis had become interested in by the representations of Callieres, the governor of Montreal, who on his return from Canada, submitted to the French king a plan for the invasion of New York and New England,[2] which was to capture New York and to destroy the nearest English settlements in New England. This plan was accepted by Louis, and he embraced the project with zeal. Callieres was sent back to Canada to make arrangements to carry out the designs. He was assigned an important position as a leader in the proposed invasion.

Frontenac went back to Canada prepared to carry out the views of the French King.[3] He arrived in October, 1689. Among the papers in the archives in Paris, which are published in the New York Colonial Manuscripts, Vol. IX, 422, are "memoir to serve as instructions for Count de Frontenac, respecting the expedition against New York, June 7, 1689.

"It was intended to fit out a naval force from Quebec, who should proceed by sea to the harbor of New York, there to be met by a land force of troops from Canada, who having captured Albany, should proceed by the Hudson river to join the naval force at New York. Another part of the plan was intended that a naval expedition should be sent against Boston also, which it was supposed could be taken in the same manner."

These expeditions were not fitted out, as, on the arrival of Frontenac at Quebec, he found it necessary to use all the forces at his

[1] Marquis de Denonville assumed the place of governor of New France in 1685, in place of La Barre, recalled. He had had thirty years experience as a soldier, was a pious colonel, and devoted to the Jesuits. His administration was unsuccessful, and he left Canada in 1689, and was succeeded by Frontenac. (Parkman's New France).

[2] N. Y. Col. Man., ix, 404.

[3] Parkman's New France, 191-207.

disposal, to punish the refractory Iroquois, who had captured Montreal, and threatened the safety of the whole province.[1]

The commencement of hostilities by the Indians against the whites in Maine, began in August, 1688,[2] by the Indians killing cattle in the eastern plantations, which caused terror to prevail among the inhabitants, the knowledge that they were to be assisted by the French (this incident showed the perfect means of communication which then existed between the Indians and the French authorities), caused them to be insolent to the white inhabitants. In 1688, Capt. Edward Tyng, who was then in command of Fort Loyall, wrote to the Massachusetts government, that he was in treaty with the Indians, but feared Casco would have trouble. I: Saco, sixteen or twenty of the most prominent Indians were seized and sent under a guard to Falmouth, and confined in Fort Loyall. Gov. Andros was in New York at the time; as soon as he returned to Boston, he sent some troops to Falmouth, and in order to have peace with the Indians, released the prisoners (which was an important measure), and sent Wm. Stoughton, Esq.,[3] a member of the Council, to confer with the Indians, in the hope of preventing the war, but he was unsuccessful and returned to Boston. Shortly after, the first blood was spilt at North Yarmouth, where Capt. Gendall[4] and a company of soldiers were attacked

[1] Parkman's New France.

[2] Willis, 272-275.

[3] William Stoughton was born in England; came here at an early age; graduated at Harvard; went back to England and studied at Oxford; returned to Mass., was one of Andros' council; was lieutenant-governor under the new charter, 1695-1701. He was the chief justice in the witchcraft trials at Salem, and showed no mercy to the unfortunate victims.

[4] Capt. Walter Gendall was a prominent man in the history of Falmouth. He was an inhabitant here previous to 1670. July 12, 1680, Dominicus Jordan and others conveyed to him 650 acres on Great Chebeague Island. He was aptaken a prisoner by the Indians in the first war, and became of service to the enemy as interpreter and messenger. In October, 1680, he had a grant of one hundred acres by the town. He was the Indian agent in 1681. He was appointed in 1684 one of a commission to take care of the repairing and settling of Fort Loyall, and was killed by the Indians at North Yarmouth in Sept., 1688. He left no male issue, and the name died with him. (Willis, pp. 131, 211, 235, 250, 254, 273].

by eighty Indians. Capt. Gendall was killed. John Royall [1] was taken prisoner. He was afterwards ransomed from the Indians by Baron de Castine. Governor Andros, on his return from New York, hoped by mild measures to avert the impending calamity. On the 30th of October, he released the prisoners confined at Fort Loyall, issued a proclamation to the Indians, requiring them to deliver up their captives and surrender for trial all who had been concerned in the murder of Englishmen. These measures proved of no avail. He then raised a force of seven hundred men, and marched through the country as far as Pemaquid. He, as he went, left garrisons in the various towns; one at Falmouth, under command of Capt. Lockart, of which we have previously mentioned. The troops sent by Andros into Maine were nearly six hundred, sufficiently strong to have protected the frontier. It was productive of no good results. The activity of Governor Andros in the defense of Maine in 1688, was in marked contrast to the Government that succeeded him in 1690.

When in New York, hearing of the beginning of the Indian troubles in Maine, he wrote the following letter to the Governor of Canada:

"GOV. ANDROS TO MONSIEUR DE DENONVILLE.[2]

"New York. primas Octob[r] 1688

"Sir. this morning upon my arrival here received advice of further mischeifs by a party of Indians who have lately killed and taken several christians at

[1] John Royall was the son of Wm. Royall, the first of the family in this country, who settled at Casco Bay as early as 1636. In 1644, he purchased of Thomas Gorges the point of land on the east side of the river which bears his name, and on which he then lived. In 1673, he conveyed to his two sons, John and William, his land and buildings on Westcustogo (Royall) river. John was taken prisoner; and his house that he left was used as a garrison, by order of Col. Tyng. His nephew, Isaac, who was the son of his brother William, was born at North Yarmouth in 1672; resided in Antigua nearly forty years; returned 1737; died June 7th, 1739. (Willis, 273,274.) His son Isaac became a distinguished merchant of Massachusetts, whose princely residence was in Medford. At the time of the revolution he was proscribed and banished. He died in England in 1781. In his will, Harvard College was given a large tract of land in Worcester County, which was the foundation of the "Royall Professorship." For an account of the Royall family, see October, 1885, number of New England Genealogical and Historical Register; also Old Times in North Yarmouth, Vols. 1-8.

[2] N. Y. Col. Man., iii., 566.

Casco Bay neere Kenebeque River, which they had before surprizd and taken severall others; and bragge of further encouragements and assistance from Canada, which as itt occasions my speedy return to Boston. Soe cannot omitt to give you notice thereof by this exprese togeather with duplicates of my former of the 11th of August, by Mr. John Smith, and 19th of September by Mr. Derrich Wessells, here inclosed not doubting but you will take effectual order that none of your Indians doe come that way to joyne with such malefactors and disturbers of the publique peace, or any such Indians received or sheltered in your government, and desire that if any captives shall happen to bee brought into your parts that they shall be freede, and those that took them be secured.

. . . .

To the Govr of Canada."

Andros returned to Boston, and on the report of the accession of William and Mary to the throne in England, as he was considered to be in sympathy with the dethroned monarch, he was overthrown by a revolution of the people, and confined as a close prisoner.

This revolution in Boston proved to be very unfortunate for the people of Maine. It relieved Massachusetts of an oppressive ruler, but the effect on the eastern garrisons was disastrous. As soon as information of the revolution in Boston reached the different forts, the garrisons revolted from their officers, abandoned their posts, and left the province in an indefensible state. The Indians soon found out the situation of affairs, and during the winter succeeding made preparations to vigorously renew the war.

Gov. Andros in his report of the administration to the committee for trade and plantations,[1] which was received in London, April, 1690, gives as his reasons for the Indian war, "that the new council in Massachusetts under Governor Bradstreet, gave orders for the withdrawal of the forces from Pemaquid and other garrisons, and places in the eastern parts; that the Indians were encouraged and enabled to renew and pursue the war, and by the assistance of the French who have been seen among them . . increased their number; that in a short time several hundred of their majesties subjects were killed or carried away captive.

[1] N. Y. Col. Man., iii. 724.

The fort at Pemaquid taken, the whole county of Cornwall, the greater part of the Province of Maine, and that part of the Province of New Hampshire destroyed and deserted, and the principal trade of that country consisted in a considerable fishery, the getting of masts, yards, &c., for the supply of his majesty's navy Royall, and boards and other lumber for the supply of the other West India plantations, is almost wholly ruined."

In April, 1689, hostilities began at Saco. Dover was surprised in June, Major Waldron and other inhabitants killed.[1]

All the inhabitants of the settlements east of Casco Bay were driven from their homes, and sought the protection of Casco and Fort Loyall.

Notwithstanding the necessity of Fort Loyall to the protection of the inhabitants, the defense of it (after the withdrawal of Capt. Lockart), was left to the bravery and resources of the inhabitants. In June, 1689, Lieutenants Brackett and Ingersol of the foot company at Falmouth, wrote to the Massachusetts government (these letters are on file in the Massachusetts archives), urging immediate assistance. They represented that there were but few men in the fort; that they were about worn out with watching; that they had on hand but 3 1-2 pounds of powder, 24 hand grenades, 2 1-2 pounds musket shot, 20 balls for the great guns, a small quantity of match, about 30 cartridge boxes for small arms; not one musket belonging to the fort, and no provisions. Capt. Davis had been supplying them from his store.[2] Subsequently the refugees from the Kennebec and other eastern places who had been driven from their homes added to the number of those who were to be protected.

After Gov. Andros was deposed, April 18, 1689, Maj. Charles Frost was appointed by the Governor and Council of Massachusetts military commander of Maine, as by his commission as follows, viz.:

[1] Willis, 275.
[2] Willis, 276.

'THE PRESIDENT OF THE PROVINCE OF MAYNE IN NEW ENGLAND,

TO MAJOR CHARLES FROST.[1]

Whereas you are appointed Sergt. Major of the military fforces in the Province.

These are in their majesties names to authorize and require you to take into your care and conduct the said military forces, and diligently to intend that service as Sergent Major, by Governing and exercising the military forces of said Province as the law directeth, commanded the militia of said Province that they obey and observe all such orders and directions as from time to time you shall receive from the president or other superior authority.

In Testimony whereof I have hereunto put my hand and seal the 23d day of August in the year 1689. Annoque R. R. et Regina Willielmi et Mariæ, Anglica primo.

THOMAS DANFORTH, President.

The following letters are evidences of the state of affairs at Falmouth and vicinity at this time:

"TO THE HONORED GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL

from on board the Ship Orang Tree at ffalmouth.

Haveing but a minute or two of time now to write, the vessell being at Sayld by whom I now send. Thought it my duty to give you an account of what I have noated down from an Indian Prisoner now on board the ship, wch was taken at Pemaquid, it being an Examination taken before Capt Davis who is now here present. The Capt of the Ship seems to be much Concerned for the Good of the English here, and for that end came hither, he is not yet determined in his mind whether to leave the prisoner here or to bring him to Boston.

Our Soldiers have begin to enquire for Cloathing Shoes & Blankets, and if you think good to allow them Sumthing Suitable to make Straw beds, our Captain desires yt Some Swan Shot may be sent. is wanting about 6 m of Shingles

[1] Maj. Charles Frost was born in England in 1632. He came with his father, Nicholas Frost, to the Pascataqua river at the age of three or four years. He was chosen representative to the general court of Mass. from Kittery, when he was 26 years of age; and subsequently became prominent in all the political and military matters in the western part of Maine. He was one of the assistants to President Danforth in the government of Maine for six years. He occupied a high military position, and was constantly engaged in military service in Maine till 1693, when he was elected a councillor from Maine which office he held till his death. He was the ancestor of nearly all of that name in this state. On Sabbath morning July 4, 1697, on his way to his wonted place of worship at Newichewannich, a distance of five miles, he was killed by a party of Indians who were in ambush by the road side. He was 65 years of age at the time of his death. (N. E. His. & Gen. Reg., 3, 249–262).

nayled to cover the Stoar room in the fort. also a few single & duble board nayles also a pair of Smiths Bellows. Also I would request your honors to Intemate to me what allowance of Rum the Soldiers must have as yet I have allowed them a pint among Six men for each day they are upon a march. They expect the same while they lie still being tould by Some here present that Country will all allow it, please give me orders what to do in that case. Our pork is most part of it spent please to give me orders to Impress cattle or rather Send Suitable effects to purchase the same w^ch^ I suppose will be cheaper so to do I suppose Capt. Phillips can Inform what goods are Suitable for this place. Please to Excuse my rude brevity, being in haste remayn

Your Honors humble
Serv^t^.

JOSEPH PROUT.[1]

Rec. Sept. 18, 1689." (Vol. 35, p. 2, Mass. Archives).

"WINTER HARBOR IN SACO. Sept. y^e^ 20, 1689.

Hon^d^ Sirs.

after respects to your Honors these are to give your Selves to understand y^t^ this day my Selfe and y^e^ officers in Comission with us and Some of y^e^ Gentlemen of the place takenig a Survey of the fort at Saco ffals, and the lamentable exposed condition of y^e^ Inhabitants, as also understanding y^t^ y^e^ Governour and Convention had promissed thirty Soldiours for the reliefe of y^e^ place of which there is but nine considering also what benefitt y^t^ fort may be, if not only to y^e^ place but^t^ y^e^ places y^r^abouts. do intreat y^t^ there may be a party of about twenty or thirty able men more, y^t^ So y^e^ fort may be maintained for it is a place worth y^e^ keeping (in it self) besides y^e^ other circumstances y^e^ man y^t^ belongs to y^e^ place promiseth to return thither with his family So there be Considerable Strength to keep it. Nought else at present but your Honours Humble

Serv^t^ GEO: SWEYNE.[2]"

There is not only y^e^ Saw mills, but a very Good grist mill and there is not an other hereabouts, besides it is their present fronteer—pray pleas to lett M^r^. Sarg^t^ have a speedy answer for we apprehend it very momentous." (Vol. 35, page 35, Mass. Archives).

[1] Joseph Prout was a commissary for the troops in Maine during the Indian war. He was the son of Capt. Timothy and Mary Prout; was born in Boston Feb. 4, 1651. (Rec. Com., 9.) His brother Timothy purchased the Cammock Patent at Black Point in 1728, a part of which is now called Prout's neck (His. of Scar., 221).

[2] Capt. George Swayne had the command of six hundred troops sent by Andros into Maine in 1688, accompanied by Col. Church. (N. E. His. & Gen. Reg., 3, 259). They accomplished nothing and returned. In 1689 he was sent from Berwick by Maj. Frost with seventy men for Saco, Black Point, &c. (N. E. His. & Gen. Reg., 3, 257).

These representations at length roused the Government, and an expedition under the famous Capt. Church,[1] of King Philip's war, was sent into Maine. This resulted in the battle that took place on the Deering farm in October, 1689, between the troops of Church, aided by the men of Falmouth, and the French and Indians; in which the whites were victorious.

Sullivan,[2] says: "This action, 1689, was terminated in favor of Church, and altho his troops suffered very much, yet he saved the town (Casco), and the whole eastern country by that action." I believe that by that battle the State of Maine was saved to Massachusetts and the United States.

This victory of Church's was the first check that the Indians had in their victorious career during the year 1689, and in consequence of it, they withdrew to their forest homes, and no further offensive operations were had during that season. But the enemy although for the time subdued were not destroyed.

The following letter to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts, was written by Silvanus Davis, a few days after this battle:

FFORT LOYALL, 7th, 22th, 1689.

Honorebble Gentlemen:

I am Sensible with all Submission to yor Honours of ye Grave Care in sending Releife to our poore Distressed province, as also nothing can bee more taken notice off, than thoes Grate Smiles of providence that God Almighty should soe order it, that the worthy Majr Church & his Soldiers both white & Black, their —— —— shood bee Just in such Time of necessity the winde & weather Affording him a happy passage, allsoe his exceeding Ready Willingness and willing Readiness to serve their majestyes in this enterprise & Great zeal in Defending us & offending the Enimy to his vttmost strength & power, Just then Landed from sea, Being beyond expectation, for on the 20th of this

[1] Maj. Benj. Church was born at Duxbury, Mass., in 1639; died at Little Compton, Jan. 17, 1718. He was engaged in several severe skirmishes in King Philip's war, and in Aug., 1676, he commanded the party by which Philip was killed. Commissioned in 1689 as commander-in-chief of an expedition against the eastern Indians, he proceeded up the Kennebec, visited the forts in that vicinity, and rescued Casco (in the battle that took place Oct. 21, 1689). He made four other expeditions against the Indians in Maine, doing much damage to the French and Indians on the Kennebec, Penobscot and Passamaquoddy rivers. (Amer. Cyclopedia, IV, 566).

[2] Sullivan, 202.

Instant. Late in the Affternoon he landed him selfe & Immediately went on board ——— shipe to Discover the Inglish wooman that they had Redemed from the Indeans that by Discorsing said wooman he might know the Enimy's prossedings, the better to know what method to take in the pursute of the Enimy, late in the night hee landed his men, that they might not bee Discovered in their landing. On the 21th we had an allarm in the morning by Vertve of about twelve firings on Captt Brackett's [1] plantation, the enimy were discovered, we marcht out & Ingaged them about six hours, a ferce fight forced them to Retreate & Judge many of them to bee slaine & their numbers being Grate, Judge to bee between 3 & 4 hundred & there was Grate firmness on Both Sides the Enimy as their Custom have bin. Adventured hard to Gett of their slaine & was harde in their retret thro a swamp to Cut Down————to make provisions to carry them of, (wee had some slaine & soom wounded which yr Honors have a pertectcler acctt of, had our fforces known the Ground & a sufficient supply of ammonition, our allarm being early in the morning & their Landing late ouer night we had done more Execution on the Enimy). But nothing could be more don & Expected than the worthy major & Comande performed both in persons & Comandes, all soe the exceeding Willingness both of the Souldiors & all Inhabitance in this attacque is to bee acknowledged a grate and unobserved mercy. Gentlemen, yr care for us we Thanke & hope that as you have undertaken this Interprise you will prossecute it with God's assistance to effect in subduing thoes who are the Gratest Enimys to God, his cause, us & our peaceable settlement. I have noe more at psnt, to acquants yr Honors' Take leave to subscrib my selfe.

Yr Honors moste Humble Sarvant,

SILVANUS DAVIS.

our souldiers in the forte are all mostly naked it Greiffs mee to hear t.._m Complayne in the night when they are upon duty." (Vol. 35, p. 5, Mass. Archives).

The following letter was forwarded to Boston dated the day after the battle on the Brackett farm:

"FALMOUTH 7th 22th 1689.

To the Honored Governor and Council

These are to Signifie that I red your Honors Letter pp Mr Aldens pt of the goods & provisions I have already recd——— on shore, the rest are yet on board. being hindered yesterday by reason of an Ingagdon wth the Indians concerning weh shall refer to letters from such ppsons who have more Causes to write than my self hath, all the duffells [2] was delivered out

[1] This was at the house of Anthony Brackett, near where the Deering mansion is now situated.

[2] Duffels, a kind of coarse woolen cloth, having a thick nap or frieze. "Good *duffels* gray and flannel fine." (Wordsworth).

among the Indians before it come on shore, by the major's order as also all the cottons was delivered among the Indians yesterday & this day all the Shoes among the Indians and some of the English and that by the Majors[1] speshall comand as also the Stockings except half a doz p^rs of Shoes and Stockings w^ch I have privately preserved for Some who was in most present want. There is great want of Cloathing among the Soldiers as blankets, coats, wastecoats, drawrs, as also some beds or crocos to make Straw beds, for I fear some our wounded men do Suffer for want of warm lodging, and those who are well do expect Some thing of lodging for them (to keep them well). Most of the bullets as yet come to hand are musket bullets Smaller are more wanted, great wast is made in our hurry for want of a due care in those who put up what is sent in not directing by mark and number where to find what is suteable great part of this Saboth is like to be spent in makeing musquet bulletts into Sluggs. I hope your Honors will send a Speedy supply of what is needful. I have written to Mr Thomas Nicholson at Saco for him to signify his wants w^th a promise to supply him w^th what I have in store, but I douot there will be but little left, by such time as I receive his answer It is not possible for me at present to keep any thing in my hands w^ch the Soldjers wants for the major commands a supply for his Soldjers as far as it will go. I shall not further enlarge. Saveing to noat in the margin the several wants at present in minde & Subscribe my selfe your Honors humble Serv^t.

JOSEPH PROUT.

Memo. in the margin.

a pr of Smiths bellows; Shoes, beds, coats, Breeches, wastcoats, drawrs, blankets, small bullets, Swan shot, Some better powder a good quantity of stockins." (Vol. 35, p. 7, Mass. Arch.)

Capt. Church, after the battle in October, went up the Kennebec river, and on his return, visited the garrisons at Scarborough and Spurwink. He knew from his experience in Indian warfare, that when the spring opened, hostilities would commence again. The poor inhabitants of Falmouth who had fought so bravely in the late battle, were also fearful that vengeance would be visited upon them in the spring, for the late defeat, and they were anxious and prepared to abandon the settlement on the return of Church from his eastern expedition. He, however, persuaded them to remain, assuring them that if the Government would provide the means in the spring, he would certainly come with his volunteers

[1] Major Church.

and friendly Indians to their relief.[1] Capt. Church did all in his power to accomplish his promise. He represented to the Government the exposed situation of Casco; informing them of the necessity of protecting them by sending them early relief in the spring, or suffering them to leave their homes, otherwise they would certainly be destroyed by the Indians next spring. The answer from the Massachusetts authorities was "that they could do nothing till Sir Edmund was gone."[2] This action of the Massachusetts Council towards the request of Capt. Church was another instance of the cruel indifference manifested by them to the poor people of Casco; with war right at their doors, they could do nothing for them, because the Puritan government of Massachusetts thought more at that time of obtaining a partisan victory over those whom they supposed to be the adherents of the exiled King James II, than they did of preserving their own citizens from destruction by fire and sword.

Capt. Church, however, before he left, did all that he could to defend his promise to the poor inhabitants of Casco. He called a council of war at Black Point, and the following is the record of that Council.

"PROVINCE OF MAINE,

SCARBOROUGH, the 11$^{th}$ of Nov$^{r}$., 1689.

At a Councill of warr held at the point Garrison Present Maj$^{r}$ Benjamin Church, Capt. Silvanus Davis, Capt. W$^{m}$. Bassett, Capt. Simon Willard,[3] w$^{th}$ the Rest of ye Commission officers of Saco, Fflmouth and Scarborough.

It is ordered, that one hundred there Majestie's Horses now in this present Expedition against the coman Enemies be detached out of the severall Companyes w$^{ch}$ s$^{d}$ numb$^{r}$ for ye security of ye Garrisons there Resident & in case any of ye Enemie be discovered, or any tracks of them be made in this winter season untill further force be sent, that may Advance to their head Quarters.

[1] Willis, p. 281.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Capt. Simon Willard was an experienced officer from Salem, who had been stationed at Falmouth (Willis, p. 281). He was the third son of Maj. Simon Willard, who was famous in King Philip's war. He was born Nov. 23, 1649. He moved from Groton to Salem. He died there, June 21, 1731. (Essex. Ins., 11, 190). Simon Willard was a marshal of Essex after the overthrow of Gov. Andros, and in active service a commander of a military company in an expedition against the eastern Indians. (Early N. E. People, p. 66).

Souldjers quartered in ye township of Saco twenty men in theire two Garrisons. In the township of Scarborough twenty men in theire garrisons, viz., three, Spurwink included." The council then adjourned to meet at Falmouth two days later.

"FELLMOUTH, the 13th November.

Att a Council of Warr held in pursuance of wt is above written by Majr. Benjamin Church & the officers above sd Added Capt. Nathl. Hall,[1] Lieut. Thaddeus Clark,[2] Lieut. Elisha Andrews,[3] Mr. Elisha Gallison,[4] Lieut. George Ingersol,[5] Lieut. Ambrose Davis, Mr. Robert Lawrence,[6] Mr. John Palmer,[7] & othrs &c.

"It is ordered that sixty souldjers be quartered in Felmouth besides the Inhabitants, and the Souldjers that shall belonge to the ffoart, weh shall be fifteen Souldjers besides the Commander & Guner & ye Remayner to be sent to Boston to be Ready to Returne Accordinge to order. Itt is ordered that there be a Sufficient Garrison erectd about Mr. Gallison's house for a mayne court of Guard, Together with Mr. Robt. Lawrence his garrison, which two Garrisons are to be supplyed with ye sixty Souldjers left for to guard the sd towne. Itt is ordered that Capt. Nathanll Hall is to take charge as Commander in chief of those forces that are left for the defense of the Above sd three Towns. Those Souldjers that belong to ffort Loyall to be under the Commandr of said ffoart."

[1] Capt. Nathl. Hall was from Massachusetts, and was with Church in King Philip's war. He commanded a company at the engagement here Sept. 21, 1689, and did great service and suffered the most in loss of men. (Willis, p. 278.)

[2] Lieut. Thaddeus Clark, see post.

[3] Lieut. Elisha Andrews was the son of James Andrews, who moved to Falmouth from Saco about 1638.

[4] Mr. Elisha Gallison (or Elihu Gullison). He had command of one of the garrisons in Falmouth, at the time of the attack, called the half moon. See post.

[5] Lieut. George Ingersol (or Ingerson), was born in 1618, was a military officer appointed by the Massachusetts Commissioners in 1668. He owned lands at Capisic, and in 1680 was granted a tract by Danforth, on the east side of Exchange street below Middle. At the foot of Exchange street, a garrison house was built, which commanded by Sergeant Richard Hicks, made a spirited defence against the French and Indians in the four days siege in May, 1690. He survived the war, and was living in Salem in 1694. (Willis, 295).

[6] Robert Lawrence. He married George Munjoy's widow. He built a stone house on Munjoy's hill, near the present observatory, which was used as a garrison at the time of the attack upon Fort Loyall. He was killed in that engagement. His widow married Stephen Cross, of Boston, for her third husband, and died in Boston in 1705. (Willis, p. 297).

[7] John Palmer married the eldest daughter of George Munjoy, and lived in Falmouth from 1680 to 1690. His wife was the owner of Peaks' Island, given to her by her grandfather, John Phillips. (Willis, p. 133).

"Ordered, That Lieut. Rich$^{d}$ Hunnewell[1] is to take the charge and Conduct of the twenty Souldjers quartered at Blew-point Black Point & Spurwink Garrisons, as the s$^{d}$ Lieut. Hunnewell shall Receive orders from time to time from ye s$^{d}$ Comandr in cheife."

"It is ordered, That Ensign John Hill[2] is to take the care and Conduct of those twenty Souldjers Quartered at Saco Garrison as the s$^{d}$ Ensign Hill shall Recaive orders from time to time from his s$^{d}$ Comander in chiefe."

"It is ordered, that ye fforty Souldjers posted at Saco, Scarborough & Spurwinke, are to be obedient unto y$^{e}$ Comanders of ye several Garrisons, where they shall be posted, whilst in garrison, but to attend the Comands of Lieut. Hunnewell & Ensign John Hill, respectively, as they are concerned upon theire Scoutinge and marching out.

Given under my hand this 14th of Novembr 1689
By consent of s$^{d}$ Councill
BENJAMIN CHURCH,
Comandr in Cheif."

(Vol. 35, page 82, Massachusetts Archives).

[1] Richard Hunnewell, of Scarborough, who, during the wars, was known as the Indian killer. He was distinguised as a bitter enemy of the Indians, and often found occasion to show his hostility as a ferocious and irreconcilable foe to the savages. He was killed by the Indians in 1713, and his body horribly mutilated. (History of Scarborough, pp. 144-148).

[2] John Hill was born in Saco. He was the son of Roger Hill, who was the son of Peter, who settled in Biddeford, and was admitted a freeman in 1653. John Hill was commissioned as an ensign by President Danforth. He served mostly in the forts at Saco, Wells and South Berwick. After Salmon Falls and Falmouth were destroyed in 1690, most of the inhabitants of Saco fled for protection to Wells. Lieut. Hill, however, remained in the fort at Saco. He married, Dec. 12, 1694, Mary, the daughter of Maj. Charles Frost. In 1699 he resigned his commission and removed from Saco to Berwick. (N. E. His. and Gen. Reg., 12, 139, 258). Grave responsibilities were placed upon him by the Government. The following is an order issued to him:

"BOSTON, November the 3$^{d}$, 1693.

TO CAPT. JOHN HILL

Wee Having Advice from Major$^{r}$ Francis Hooke that their Majesties fort now erected at Sacoe Is made tenable. Have ordered Him to dismiss the Soldiers Imployed in that service, Reserving only twenty of them: or soe many as may make up that number, with such of those parts as are willing to be Imployed In that serviss. these are therefore to order and Impower you forthwith to Repaire unto that place, & then to take the charge of said fort & the soldiers that shall be appointed by Major Hooke to keep that post, whoum you Are to comand, order & direct In their duty, watchfuly & carefully to prevent surprise, & In case any attempt be made upon the same By assault or otherwise, to make the uttmost defence; and so far as you can you are to Imploy the soldiers under yo$^{r}$ comand In the finishing of the fort and Building & making the Lodgengs Convenient, & this untill you Have further orders from His Excellency the Govourn$^{r}$ whoe is daily expected to Arive from the Eastern parts

Barth$^{o}$ Gedney, } Comissn$^{rs}$
John Walley, } for ye Wars.

If by any accident supply$^{s}$ of provision should not come seasonable for y$^{e}$

The following report of the commission for the colony shows, that within six weeks after the battle at Falmouth on the Brackett farm, Massachusetts, notwithstanding the representations of Maj. Church and others, was endeavoring to reduce the forces at Falmouth and vicinity:

"The Commissioners for the Colony having amended it to the Governor and Councills, that the souldiers belonging to the Frontier Towns, now at any of their head quarters, together with all sick and wounded & others unfitted for Service be forthwith dismissed home. As also the Troopers here or elsewhere. And case there be not a prospect of an opportunity to prosecute the enemie that then the Indians that are upon service, and so many of the English Souldiers as may with safety to the people of the remote Plantations be spared, be as conveniently & privately as may be reteerned home.

It is agreed & ordered. That in case there be no prospect of pursuing the Enemy Major Benjamen Church Commander in chiefe of the forces abroad at Casco & the parts adjacent, with the advice of his Commission officers, and the officers and some of the principal persons upon the places, doe place a sufficient number of Souldiers, at such garrisons & out Plantations in those parts as may secure the same, and make out a party to offend the Enemy in case of any attempt, and dispose them under suitable officers, that they may under good government & order, taking distinct lists of the names & numbers of souldiers ordered to remayne in each place. And the sd Commander in chiefe, and other his officers & Souldiers as privately as may bee, draw off home & be discharged. And meet supplies and provisions be sent for the drawing off them that are to come home, and to furnish them that stay behind.

past in the affirmitive by the Representatives

EBENEZER PROUT[1] Clerk

Novr 6, 1689.

Consented to by the Governor & Councill,

Isa. ADDINGTON,[2] Secy.

Nov. 6, 1689." (Vol. 35, p. 72, Mass. Archives).

souldjers in ye majestie's service, you are hereby to furnish or cause to be furnished, what is of necessity untill supplys come ffor wch this shall be your warrant. Boston ye 3d Nov., 1693." (N. E. His. and Gen. Reg. 10, 30).

[1] Ebenezer Prout was of Concord, Mass. Was a captain, representative in 1685, 1689-92, and clerk of the house. He died Nov. 3, 1702. (Savage, 3, 490). He was of the same family as Joseph Prout, before mentioned.

[2] Isaac Addington of Boston. Born Jan. 22, 1645; m. in 1669, Elizabeth Bowen. Was a representative in 1685, and speaker of the house, and next year assistant. Under the new charter he was a councillor and secretary, and was appointed chief justice in 1703. He died March 19, 1715. (Savage, 1, 17, 18).

The following letters passed between the Massachusetts government and the officers at Fort Loyall:

"Boston: 14 Novemr 1689.

Mr. John Alden,[1]

You having received on board the Sloop Mary where of you are commander a recruit of provisions and farther supply of Clothing for the fforce at ffalmouth and other the parts adjacent you are desired, and ordered forthwith to sayle with the said Sloop Mary into Falmouth in Casco Bay, and deliver the said provisions and supplys unto Mr. Joseph Prout Comissary upon the place. And if Major Church be not beforehand came away you are to attend his order for the transporting of such of his souldiers English and Indian that are to be drawn off unto Plymouth,[2] that belong unto that Colony, and so to return unto Boston. If Major Church be come away ere yor arrivall you are to deliver the Letters directed to him unto Capne Hall and the chiefe officers upon the place and attend their orders for the bringing off such of the souldiers as are to come home, and the spare arms belonging to the publique stores that are left in the magazine weh Mr. Prout is ordered to deliver unto you, and make what hast you can by return with yor Sloop again to Boston ——

By order of the Governr & Council,

I. A. S."

(Vol. 35, p. 84, Mass. Archives).

"Boston 14 November, 1689.

Mr. Joseph Prout

These accompany Capt. John Alden in the Mary by whome comes supplys of Provisions & Clothing for the Souldiers that shall be posted in the several Garrisons upon Major Church his drawing of with the rest of the Forces. As also some goods for the purchasing of more provisions those of

[1] Capt. John Alden, of Boston, was the eldest son of John Alden, the noted pilgrim from whom are descended all of the name in the United States. His mother was Priscilla Mullins, whose romantic courtship and marriage is a pleasing history in the traditions of Plymouth Colony. Capt. Alden was the commander of the sloop Mary, employed in supplying the eastern garrisons with stores, &c. He married widow Eliz. Everill, a daughter of Maj. Wm. Phillips of Saco; owned a saw mill, and spent a portion of his time there. He was in the expedition of Sir Wm. Phipps against Nova Scotia in 1690. In 1692 he was accused of witchcraft, and imprisoned at Boston. He escaped and remained in concealment for some time; then returned and was bound over for trial; but the spell was broken, and he and one hundred others were cleared by proclamation. He died in Boston in 1702. He had six children. (History of Saco, pp. 184-186). (Drake's His. of Boston, pp. 499, 500).

[2] Many of the soldiers, whites, and friendly Indians came from Plymouth colony.

the Inhabitants an accompt where of you will receive therewith from the Committee. In the disposal whereof while you are upon the place, you are desired to take a particular accompt and take care that there be a proportioning of the same to the several garrisons at Falmouth, Saco, Blackpoint, &c., according as may be most needed. And plased to pay out of the goods now sent unto —— Clois[1] of Falmouth the value of three pounds or thereabouts in part satisfaction for the beefe taken up of him for the use of the army. Also please to perfect and send your accompts by Mr. Alden of what hath been taken up by the souldiers that so their debentures may be passed. As also send home all the spare arms left by the souldiers in the magazines belonging to the publique stores. Captn Alden hath been detained here severall days in expectation that Major Church would have been here before this time, having information that he was coming by land,[2] but hearing nothing of him, the Council have now dispatched Mr. Alden yor coming away with him was not thought so convenient until the garrison be settled there and then some fit person may be appointed to succeed you whereof please to advise, that so you may receive orders by the next wch I shall labour to forward with the tenders of respects

I am yr friend & servt.

I. A., Sec. by order

of the Govr & Councill."

(Vol. 35, p. 85, Mass. Archives),

"To Isaac Addington, Esq.

Falmouth, 9th, 16, 1689.

Sir

Yesterday in the Evening arrived the Mary the severall goods I have this morning recd most of them on shore I could have been glad if more bread had been sent for our stock was reduced to a little more than one hhd. as for pease we are quite out. I have been and still am endeavoring to purchase what Small ppcles I can get for money or any other pay of my own that I have to make for them. our meal was quite gone yesterday, and the Inhabitants not willing to bring any in without some reddy payment upon wch having a written order from the Major. I Imployed the Constable to impress a side of beef wch was on board a shallop bound westward belonging to Mr. Wallace[3] wch he was

[1] This was probably a member of the Cloice family. There were three here of that name — John, Nathaniel and Thomas.

[2] This refers to the return of Major Church from the Kennebec and Androscoggin rivers, where he went against the Indians. (Willis, p. 280).

[3] Wallace. Several families of the name of Wallis lived at Back Cove and Purpooduck Point at this time. (Willis).

carcing to purchase cloathing for h ely, it coming about nine beaver [1] I promised him that he should be sp .y paid w^ch I desire may be fulfilled when he comes to Boston with his boat for the same. As for sending the severall of the soldiers by Mr. Alden I doubt I shall not be able to accomplish. I having been under great disadvantage by the severall officers refusing to take up for their companies and to give me a particular acct of the same, w^ch if they had so don I should have been able before this time to have transcribed such accts., but it has been my work daily to deliver to each man sundry trifles with my own hand an acct. of w^ch cannot be so soon Sent as desired. I suppose if the Honored Govr & Council should see cause to appoint Capt. Davis to receive what is left and to Inspect and render an acct. of the disposal of the same he would not refuse it, he being the fittest man as I know of. I have not time to enlarge being in a greater hurry than your selfe can hardly be senseable. I desire that either orders to draw bills for provisions or a more full Supply of goods be Sent to pay for them here. me fall shoes Stockings mittings and I doubt some more linen will be wa among the soldiers all w^ch with what ever else may be thought needful I ill be sent by the first opportunity.

S. I am your humble servt.

JOSEPH PROUT.

An hour glass in this garrison is greatly wanted.

Please to communicate what you think needful of the above s^d to the Honored Govr & Councill."

(Vol. 35, p. 86, Mass. Archives).

"TO THE HONORED GOVR.

PROVINCE OF MAYN, FALMOUTH, 9th } 18th, 1689. }

Sr I recd orders by Mr. Alden I have done what I could in settling and transcribing the accts. of as many of the soldiers as I could. These belonging to the Falmouth Soldiers comidg by Capt. Bas——[2] though for want of him to compare them and examine them make me somewhat doubtful about them lest any or particular should be omitted. Some of our English Soldiers accts. are here Inclosed with some Information to the Gentlemen of the Committee about them I hope it will not be long before I shall receave orders for my comming home where I hope I shall be able to give as good an acct. of my stewardship as the circumstances w^ch I have been under would admit. I suppose if the Council see cause Capt. Davis will be willing to take the charge of what remayns for the stores for the present. It will be needfull that so. e more

[1] Beaver skins were the currency then used in these times. They were good legal tender.

[2] Probably Capt. Bassett.

bread be sent. the corn w^ch came will stand in little stead except it can be ground, w^ch I doubt will scarce be done here. Some of the soldiers are drawn and drawing of; what goods are come I doubt will not be enough to supply the soldiers with clothing ——— but little of it can be spared towards the paying for or purchasing meal, if goods had come for that end it would have been convenient that I should have had some Information concerning the price of beef what to allow at as money. as for pease I suppose the cheapest way will be to send some from Boston for I can hear of but few to be had here. I have but time to Enlarge but hope that what is wanting will be considered of and and sent pr the next, and at present remayne

Your Honors humble Servt.

JOSEPH PROUT.

I have delivered to Mr. Alden 31 small arms being all yt I had left, with me of the country."

(Vol. 35, p. 87, Mass. Archives).

"FALMOUTH, 21, 1689

MR. ISAAC ADINGTON,

Sir, these may serve to inform something of the present State of affairs here in Falmouth. Those soldiers left here are most of them men of Ill behavior and take little notice of of their commander Especially since their Capt. went home though for my part I am of opinion their present disorder is the effect of the want of that due method of Strict Government w^ch they should have known before I would not reflect upon any man but I am fully ppsuaded that if they are not speedily undr a prudent comander their carrage here will be dishonorable to God and to the Country and unsafe for this Town, for many of them do often swear that they will march away home & it is hard for me to keep any of that supply of goods w^ch came last for the other Garisons, they many of them threatning to pull down the store house and take what they please, I wish that speedy care may be taken to rectify what is amiss This day some of them were ppsuaded to go up to guard the mill while corn is grinding,[1] and it is intended to continue a guard there (if pswation will do) untill a sufficient quantity of corn be ground for to last the Town the whole winter, and then wholy to leave off grinding therefore if it so thought convenient to send any more corn here, move than it be cheifly of Indian, some ground and some unground, as also such a quantity of bread as may be thought sufficient for the winter here are now of Soldiers and listed Inhabitants seventy nine men in

[1] At that time there were no mills in this vicinity for grinding corn, except wind-mills. The location of this mill is uncertain, but from the language used it may be supposed to be on some elevated position. The high land on Free street near the Anderson houses subsequently had a mill erected there, and Free street was called wind-mill lane. This was probably the location.

this Town w^ch eat of the countrys bread, besides those at Spurwink, Blackpoint and Saco Some fall shoes are desired & expected by some of the soldiers, as also some stockings & some more shirt cloaths, as also some more coats, breeches, neck cloaths, &c. The want of a compleat Invoque of the several goods formerly sent with the price of each sort is a great advantage for wth out I cannot send home the severall soldiers wth————nor have the accts herewith of the severall soldiers to be left with whom the council shall apoynt too succeed me, when they see cause too send for me home w^ch I hope will be speedily. Wth due respects to yor self, this is all at present from

Yours

JOSEPH PROUT.

These soldiers now in the fort undr Capt. Davis are most orderly and under the best command of any here and therefore I would not be understood to reflect upon him or those under his charge."

(Vol. 35, page 88, Massachusetts Archives.)

Capt. Simon Willard was appointed to the command of Fort Loyall, and the following instructions given him, viz.:

"THE GOVERNOUR AND COUNCIL OF THE COLONY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY IN NEW ENGLAND

TO SIMON WILLARD, Captain.

Whereas you Simon Willard are appointed Captain of Foot Souldiers detatched out of severall Towns within the said Massachusetts Colony for their Majesties service was disposed and posted in several Garrisons at Falmouth, Saco, Scarborough, and other places neer thereto adjacent within the Province of Mayne for the security and defence of the said places and the Inhabitants thereof against the comon Indian Enemy, who have made open warr and are in actual hostility against their majesties subjects.

THESE are in their Majesties names to Authorise and Require you to take in your care and conduct all the said Company of souldiers, and delligently to intend that service for the safeguard and defence of the said places their majesties subjects and Estates there, against the said Indian Enemies, their aiders and Abbettors, and so fight, take kill and destroy the said Enemies as you^u may have oppertunity. Leading exercising and ordering ye Inferiour officers and souldjers, Comanding them to obey you as their Captain and chiefe Comander, and you^u to observe and obey all such orders & Instruments as from time to time you^u shall receive from the Governor & Council of this Colony.

In testimony where of the publique seale of the above s^d Colony is thereunto affixed. Dated in Boston ye twenty fifth day of Novembr Ann^o. Dom. 1689,

In the third year of ye Reign of our Sovereign Lorde and Lady W^m & Mary by the grace of God King and Queen of Engl^d Scotland, ffrance & Ireland, Defenders of ye faith &c.

S. BRADSTREET,[1]

(Vol. 35, page 69, Massachusetts Archives). Govr.

"INSTRUCTIONS FOR CAPTAIN SIMON WILLARD,

Whereas you are appointed Captain and Chiefe Commander of the soldiers detatched for their Maj^ties Service out of the colony of the Massachusetts now disposed and posted in severall Garrisons at falmouth, Saco, Scarborough, and other places neer thereto adjacent for the security and defence of the s^d places and their Maj^ties Subjects there against the Comon Indian Enemy &c.

"You are to take special care that all your Souldiers and inferior officers be kept in good order under comand; and that the worship of God be daily exercised among them and all prophand Swearing and other vices and disorders be Suppressed and duly punished. You are to order and take care that the Souldiers posted in the severall Garrisons and inferiour officers that have the particular comand of them do carefully attend their duty in their respective Posts in watching warding and Scouting for the safeguard and defence of the place and their maj^ties subjects there and for repelling the Enemy upon any attack made, and upon notice of the Enemys approach to march in a party or partys against them if by the advice of your officers and the officers and cheife persons of the place, with y^e assistance of the Inhabitants, it shall be judged you have a Sufficient strength to send forth against them, taking heed of being ambushed by the Enemy or drawn out to engage them under disadvantage of numbers or otherwise so the exposing of yourself or Souldiers. You are to take care that there be a Suitable and proportionable supply of provisions that are or shall be sent or disposed unto the severall Garrisons where your Souldiers are posted, to be comitted unto the care of some faithfull persons there who may give forth the same as shall be needed and at due allowance and keep a destinct and particular account thereof.

"You are to take all opportunity to advise the Gover^or and Councill of all occurrences with you and of the state and condi[illegible] of the several Garrisons and w^t supply be needed from time to time

SIMON BRADSTREET, Gov^r.

BOSTON, 28^th November, 1689.

Consented to by the Councill. Signed by their order.

Is^a. ADDINGTON, Sec^y."

(Vol. 35, p. 97, Mass. Archives).

[1] Simon Bradstreet was born in England in March, 1603; graduated at Cambridge University in 1624; came to Massachusetts with Winthrop in 1630; was chosen an assistant Secretary, 1630-36, Deputy Governor, 1673-8, Governor, 1679-86, and again after the revolution against Sir E. Andros, 1689-92; died March 27, 1697. (Savage, 1, 236).

While thus Maj. Church and his associates were preparing with what limited forces that they had at their command, for the expected contest in the spring of 1690 with the Indians in Maine, far serious troubles were arising from their French neighbors on the north against the English in New England, Callieres[1] who some time previous had gone to France to lay before Louis XIV,[2] the project of invading New York and New England, and destroying the white settlements there, found in the person of the French monarch an eager listener. He had espoused the cause of James II, was in a war with England, and any suggestions of an opportunity to inflict a blow upon the English in North America received from him attention and sympathy. Being, in the fall of 1689, about to send Frontenac back to Canada as its ruler, he gave him orders to that effect to carry out the plan of a war with New England.[3]

Frontenac arrived in Canada October 12, 1689. An extract from the Paris Documents[4] give the following: "The order received by M. Le Compte de Frontenac[5] to commence hostilities against New England and New York, which had declared for the Prince of Orange, afforded him considerable pleasure, and were very necessary for the country. He allowed no more time to elapse before carrying them into execution than was required to

[1] Callieres-Bonnevue. Louis Hector de, governor of Montreal in 1684, died in 1703. (N. Y. Col. Man., ix, 743).

[2] Louis XIV. called the great king of France, was born Sept. 16, 1638, died Sept. 1, 1715. The reign of Louis XIV has been styled the Augustan age of France, and it will certainly be ever illustrious from the splendid array of great men whom the king assembled around his throne. (Amer. Cyclopedia, x, pages 655, 659). It was during the reign of this monarch that the important events connected with the settlement of New France, the French and Indian wars of the 17th century, and the attempted conquest of Canada by the English occurred.

[3] N. Y. Col. Man., ix. 423.

[4] N. Y. Col. Man., ix. 464.

[5] Count (Louis de Buade) Frontenac was the Governor of Canada, 1672-82. He was of a violent temper, and had many quarrels with his associates. He was recalled back to France in 1682. Louis XIV sent him back to Canada in 1689 under instructions to invade New England and New York. He was governor 1689-98. He repulsed Sir Wm. Phipps at the attack on Quebec in 1690, and his administration of affairs was popular. He died at Quebec, Nov. 28, 1698, lamented and beloved. (Parkman's New France).

send off some dispatches to France. Immediately he determined to organize three different detachments to attack those rebels at all points at the same moment, and to punish them at various places for having afforded protection to our enemies the Mohawks. The first party was to rendezvous at Montreal, and proceed towards Orange[1] (Albany). The second at Three Rivers, and to make a descent on New York or some place between Boston and Orange (Albany). (A note says this defachment entered New Hampshire, where they burned a place called Salmon Falls). And a third was to depart from Quebec and gain the seaboard between Boston and Pentagonet (Penobscot), verging towards Acadia. (This was the party that captured Fort Loyall). They all succeeded perfectly well."

Another account says that "in the winter of 1689–90, three expeditions were fitted out against the New York and New England settlements by Count Frontenac. It was done by him to recover the prestige he had lost on account of the capture of Montreal by the Iroquois Indians."[2]

From Montreal a party of one hundred and ten French and of the Christian Iroquois Indians under the leadership of De Manet and Sainte Helene,[3] and D'Iberville,[4] the hero of Hudson Bay, and Bienville[5] as volunteers, started in the depth of winter on the expedition against New York. They waded through the snow to Schenectady, which they destroyed on the 8th of February, 1689.

[1] Orange was the name which Albany was generally called.

[2] Bancroft, 3, 182.

[3] Le Moyne de Sainte Helene was one of the sons of Charles Le Moyne. Was leader of the attack upon Schenectady, and in the defence of Quebec in 1690 against Sir Wm. Phipps, and was killed at that time. (Parkman's New France).

[4] Sieur. de Pierre Le Moyne Iberville, brother of St. Helene, was a Canadian military and naval commander. He was born in Montreal, July 16, 1661; died in Havana, July 9, 1706. He was distinguished in many engagements against the English, including the capture of Pemaquid in this State. He was one of the founders of Louisiana. (Amer. Cyclopedia, 9, 142).

[5] Francois Le Moyne de Bienville (another brother), was a prominent French military leader in Canada. He was killed in a battle with the Iroquois Indians in 1691. (N. Y. Col. Man., ix, 518). His name and estates were given to his brother, who afterward became the governor of Louisiana. (Charlevoix).

The horrors of that massacre are well known as a frightful chapter of our colonial history.

After the destruction of Schenectady by the French and Indians, accounts were written by various parties to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts giving information of the same, and that they might provide against similar attacks upon their frontier settlements. Of a letter from P. Schuyler, Dirch. Wessels, K. V. Renesselaer, Convention of Albanie, under date of February 15, 1689, '90, the following is an extract:

"NOW GENT. The Indians speak well yet we are satisfied by all their actions that they will side with the strongest and ye Indians yt are among the french are all of our Indian Relations So y^t it cannot be Imagined that they will destroy or anoy Therefore if their maj^ies subjects doe not Rise like one only man against ye french there Maj^ies Interests in these parts will be Destroyed and they once being Rooted out all y^e Evills which spring from them as the fountain will B quashed, the Longer we stay the worse it will B. for we must doe it at last and then probably after we have lost many hundreds of our people which would be fit to help in such an Expedition we have felt the Smart of that nation — and Pray God our neighbors may not come to same Disaster we are Satisfyed they did not design to destroy Shinnechtady but all ourout Plantations but fynding them so secure sett upon them & left the others untoucht, thinking they could never Escape there Cruelties.

Dear neighbours and friends we must acquaint y^r y^t never Poor People in y^e world was in a worse Condition than we are now at Present. no governour nor Command^r no money. . . . We have here Plainly laid y^e case before you, and doubt not you will take it to heart and make all readiness in y^e Spring to Invade Canada by water."

(Vol. 35, p. 245, Mass. Archives).

The following was the reply from the Governor and Council of Massachusetts:

"Hon^d Gent. BOSTON, 27^th February, 1689, '90.

Yo^s of the 15^th instant bringing the sad and Solemn news of the desolation of Schicinectedy and the barbarous cruelties exercised towards the people of that place came to hand on Munday the 24^th of this instant, which is a loud Alarm to the whole country to make all meet preparation to put themselves in a posture of defence. The Government here have had before them the consider-

ation of an Expedition against the French in the Eastern Parts,[1] And have consented to severall propositions for the Encouragement of such as shall undertake the charge of carrying on the same, divers considerable gentlemen offering to advance towards it. And hope that something will beesoon brought to Effect in that matter; the people here seeming to be greatly spirited therein. It is very unhappy that the animosities and divisions amongst the people in yo^e^ parts and refusing to subject to any order should make them careless and neglective of their duty for their own security and to expose themselves thereby to the incursion of the Enemy. Its hoped this sad providence will awaken them that are yet untacked to unite for the comon safety, and to make provision accordingly, and be very diligent in their watches to prevent a surprise. Should the French gain any more such advantages it is to be feared that it would further their jesuitical insinuations with the Indians and draw them to their side when they see their Success and observe the security and divisions that are among the English yo^e^ care and endeavors to hold the Indians to their promises and covenant lately renewed may by no means be wanting at this time. And it will highly concern the English of those Colony^s^, and those of New Yorke and Maryland, &c were to maintain a good correspondence and intelligence at this critical time and to unite against a comon Enemy. In which we shall not be wanting on our part as occasion shall offer. Wee thank you for y^oe^ care in the Speedy Intelligence and notice given of the danger to the upper Towns of this Colony. And desire the further communication from time to time of what may occur for their Maj^ties^ service. Comending you to the gracious protection of the Almighty

Subscribe Gent: y^r^ Friends and Servants the Governou^r^ and Council of their Maj^ties^ Colony of the Massachusetts Bay

Signed by their order."

(Vol. 35, pages 277-278, Mass. Archives).

Preparations were made for the attack upon Nova Scotia, the government deeming that to be the way to defend Maine.

"Capt. Nathanael Green,[2] m^r^. Richard Middlexot, Nathaniel Oliver Esq., Andrew Belcher and Capt. Samuel Legg are desired and appointed a Comittee to consult and devise what may be necessary of a Shiping Provision and Amunition and other stores to accomodate the Expedition ag^t^ the French at Nova

[1] This undoubtedly referred to the proposed expedition of Sir Wm. Phipps.

[2] The oldest gravestone in the Eastern Cemetery upon which there is any legible inscription, has the following, viz.: "Here lyes ye body of Mrs. Mary Greene, ye Dau^r^ of Capt Nathanael and Mrs Mary Green of Boston, aged 54 years. Dec.^d^ May y^e^ 23, 1717."

Scotia and L'Acadie and make provision accordingly with all speed. And report the same to this Court

Voted by the deputies in y^e affirmative.

p^r order JOSEPH LYNDE.

Consented to by the magistrates

Is^a. ADDINGTON, Secy."

(Vol. 35, p. 314, Mass. Archives).

Another party started from Three Rivers on the 28th of January, who were commanded by Francois Hertel,[1] and his nephew, Sieur Gastineau, as lieutenant. It consisted of twenty-four French, twenty Abenakis of the Sokokis band, and five Algonquins. The notorious Hopegood[2] was in command of the Indians. After two months of extreme hardship they reached the little stream that separates Maine from New Hampshire, on the night of the 27th of March, 1690. They lay hidden in the forests that bordered the farms and clearings of Salmon Falls. After midnight while the inhabitants were asleep, they made their attack, burning houses, killing cattle, murdering many of the inhabitants, and taking some captives. While in the midst of their murderous career two Indian scouts brought news that a force of English were advancing from Portsmouth. Hertel then, with his captives, some of whom were murdered on the way, began his retreat. After some

[1] Francois Hertel (Artel) lived at Three Rivers, was one of the officers of the colony, and had command of important expeditions against the English. He was ennobled by the king in 1691; was killed in the attack upon Haverhill, Aug. 29, 1708. (N. Y. Col. Man.; Drake's Indians, iii, 140).

[2] Hopegood was a celebrated chief of the Norridgewock tribe. He was the son of Robin Hood. His career was long and bloody. One of the most important actions in which Hopegood was engaged was that against Salmon Falls in New Hampshire, which is minutely detailed by Charlevoix, from whose history, and which translated, is as follows: "Three expeditions had been set on foot by Governor Frontenac, the troops for which had been raised at three places, Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec. Those raised at Three Rivers were ordered against New England, and such was the insignificance of that place that but 52 men could be raised, including 5 Algonquins and 20 Sokokis; these Indians had lately returned from an eastern expedition. They had at their head one of the officers of the colony, to whom could be intrusted the execution of an enterprise of such a nature with the greatest confidence." Such is the testimony which Count Frontenac gave in a letter which he wrote at the time to M. de Seignelay. That officer was the Lieut. Hertel. In the small company which he commanded he had three of his sons and two of his nephews, viz., the Lieut. Crevier, Lord of S. Francois, and the Lieut. Gatineau. (Drake's Indians, iii, 116).

skirmishing with the whites he managed to escape with his whole force. He did not attempt to return to Canada the way he came, but made a route through the wilderness of Maine to the waters of the Kennebec. On his arrival among the Indian tribes of that section he found needed rest and protection. He sent his captives[1] on to Quebec, and remained with his warriors to wait the coming of the party from Quebec who were intending the destruction of Casco. At one of the Abenaki villages he learned that the party he was expecting of the French and Indians had a day previous passed south (this was about the first of May) on their way to attack Casco.

The following instructions were sent to Major Frost:

"Province of Mayne — To Major Charles Ffrost[2] Instructions as followeth.

Pursuant to the Comission signed & bearing same date with these p'sents.

You are with all care to hasten gathering of your soldjers together, and in case Capt. Simon Willard be in any way disabled that he can^t attend ye service you are to comissionate such other meet person as you shall Judge meet, & appoynt all other officers as you shall have occasion. You shall in all places & by all wayes & meanes to your power take, kill & destroy y^e enemy without limitation of place or time as you shall have opportunity, & you ar also impowered to comissionate any other person or persons to do the like.

You shall carefully inspect all the Garrisons in y^e Province, & reduce them to such a number,[3] & appoynt such places as shall in yo^r wisdome most conducive to the preservation of the people & y^e great charge now expended for y^e same may be abated.

[1] The principal captives taken by Hertel were six or seven children of the Short family, Robert Rogers, James Key, Mehitable Goodwin, Mary Ferguson, and others. (Mather, II, 598, 599).

[2] Upon the advice of this mischief in the west (capture of Schenectady) orders were dispatched unto Maj. Frost in the east that the towns there must stand upon their ground. The Major did his duty, but they did not theirs. They dreamt that while the deep snow of the winter continued they were safe enough, but this proved as vain as the dream of a dry summer. (Mather, ii, 595).

[3] According to these and previous instructions, the Government was endeavoring to reduce the troops in Maine to as small a number as was possible.

Comitting you to y^e^ Co ——— & pe of God Almighty upon whom ——— you have all yo^r^ dependance.

I subscribe

Yo^r^ Loving friend

Ffeb. 17, 1689. THO. DANFORTH, Presid^t^.[1]

[Along the margin is writ^t^en.]

I have prevailed with Lt. Andrews to come back esteeming him a fitt man for your Lt. and I would y^t^ you accordingly enterteyn him

(Superscription]

To Major Charles

Frost in

Kittery

P. Lt Andros."[2]

The attack on Salmon Falls was a bold surprise to all the whites in that vicinity, and immediately letters and appeals for assistance were sent to the Massachusetts authorities, and the following from the Massachusetts Archives will be found of interest:

"PORTSMOUTH March 18 1689'90

Much Honor^d^.

Wee are just informed that ye Indian Enemy this morning Attacqued Salmon falls & have surprised all the families above the fort, w^ch^ are about 10 or 12 & have also taken possession of the fort & of Lords house where several families live. W^m^ Plaisted,[3] who gives this information made his escape from Capt. (John) Wincols[4] house w^ch^ was twice assaulted by ye Enemy but they

[1] N. E. His. & Gen. Reg., 3, 24.

[2] Probably Lieut. Elisha Andrews. See page 41, ante.

[3] William Plaisted was the second son of Roger, of Kittery, by his wife Olive, rather than the eldest as given by Savage, Parsons, and in the Wentworth Genealogy; after the massacre of his brother Roger, 16 Oct., 1675, he was the eldest surviving son, and administration upon his father's estate was committed to him and his brother James. A letter of the Rev. Joshua Moody (Mass. Hist. Coll., 4 S., viii. 362), shows that this William had been married four or five years, 5 Sept., 1683, when his wife gave birth to their first child, at Newichawanock. W. M. S.

[4] John Wincoll, of Kittery; the name is spelt Wincoln, Wincol, Wincall, or Winkle; was born in England in 1622; came to this country in 1635; lived at Watertown, 1637; freeman 1644; removed to Kittery, and resided at that part called Newichawanock; was a rep., 1653-5, and 1675-8, and from 1676-85, in the commission under both Stoughton and Danforth; had a military commission as captain; was register and clerk; died Oct. 22, 1694, and was succeeded in that office by Capt. Jos. Hammond. (Savage, 4, 592).

were beaten of by six or seaven English men who were left in possession of s[d] house when he came away from there to give this advice & pray for relief, he saw not above twenty Indians, we have already sent away from the banks between 20 & 30 men & have sent to our other Towns for further relief wee now here see the smoak rising so y[t] they are burning all before them Wee humbly pray a thorough serious consideration of the condition of this part of the country & y[t] such measures may be forthwith taken as in y[r] Hono[rs] wisdome shall be thought most conducive to the prosecution thereof This is the whole of wt information wee can at present give as soon as we have a further acct. you may expect to hear farther from

Much Hon[le] yo[r] Humble Servts

WM. VAUGHAN,[1]
RICHD. MARTYN.[2]

(Vol. 35, page 319, Massachusetts Archives).

"PORTSMOUTH, 19th March, 1689, '90.

Much Honor[ble]

Yesterday we gave acc[t] of ye dreadfull destruction of Salmon Falls; and the particulars whereof please to take as followth.

The enemy made their onset between break of the day & Sunrise when most were a bed & no watch kept neither in fort nor house. The presently tuk possession of y[e] fort to prevent any of o[u]rs doing it & so carried all before them by a surprise, none of our men being able to get together into a body to oppose them so that in the place were killed & taken between four score & 100 persons of w[ch] between twenty & Thirty able men, the fort & upwards of twenty houses burnt, most of the cattle burnt in their houses or otherwise kild, which was very considerable, from thence the enemy proceeded to Quam-

[1] William Vaughan was one of the first counsellors of New Hampshire, from 1680 to his death in 1719. He was made "freeman" in 1669; was Judge C. C. P. from 1680 to 1686, and Chief Justice from 1708 to 1715. He married, December 8, 1668, Margaret, daughter of Richard Cutts. She died January 22, 1690, aged 40. He had eight children, of whom George was Counsellor and Lieut.-Gov. of New Hampshire; died November 2, 1725. George's second son, William Vaughan, was born Sept. 12, 1703; graduated at Harvard College in 1722; was Lieut.-Col. at the capture of Louisburg in 1745. He removed to Damariscotta. He died in England in 1746. (Wentworth Genealogy, I, 297). He was the grandfather of the William Vaughan who came to Portland from Portsmouth in 1784, and purchased large tracts of land in the western part of the city; one of whose children was the late William T. Vaughan of this city.

[2] Richard Martyn, of Portsmouth, was a son in law of Richard Cutts. He held important offices and was in 1693 C. J. of C. C. P., and the same year app. C. J. of the S. J. C. He m. 1st, Sarah Tuttle, dau. of John Tuttle; 2d Martha (Symonds) Dennison, widow of John Dennison; 3d, Elizabeth (Sherburn) Lear, widow of Tobias Lear; 4th, Mary (Benning) Wentworth, widow of Samuel Wentworth. He died April 2, 1694. Of eight children he left two sons and two daughters, wives of Richard Jose and John Cutts. (N. H. His. Coll., VIII, 311–317. Wentworth Gen., I, 116).

phegan, where lived onely Thomas Homes, who upon the alarm retired from his house to a small Garrison built near his Saw mill whither also some of Salmon falls y^t made their escape fled about 30 of the Enemie surrounded Holmes' house but met with no opposition there till fourteen men of ours came up from the lower part of y^e Town & undiscovered by ye Enemy made a shot upon y^e party of Indians at Holmes house. Sundry of y^m standing before the door at w^ch shot they say three of the Enemy fell ye run into the house and broke through y^e backside & roof & being more numerous than ours forced our men to retire. nine of them got safe home & five escaped to Holmes Garrison, only one of ours wounded in the encounter, then the enemy burnt Holmes house & proceeded about a mile down & burnt the minister E house with two more & Assaulted ——— Garrison but were repulsed & so retired. James Plaisted [1] who was taken at Salmon falls was sent by Hopegood (commander-in-chief of the Indians), with a flag of truce to Thomas Holmes for ye surrend^r of his Garrison — promising liberty to depart upon his so doing, but Plaisted returned not now was y^e Garrison surrounded. The s^d Plaisted who was in y^e enemies hands many hours Informe yt he saw of y^e Enemy one hundred & fifty men well accoutred & supposes them to be about one half ffrench. upon their taking possession of ye ffort he saith that ten of them french & Indians made a dance w^ch Hopegood told him were all officers; he also told him of his Brother Goodon [2] who lived in Lord's house, was soon to be tryd for his life by a Coun-

[1] James Plaisted, who called himself "of York," was the next son of Roger and Olive; he married, first, Lydia, daughter of Richard and Lucretia Hitchcock, and granddaughter of Thomas Williams, of Saco; and presented two claims in her right to land there before the Commissioners of "Eastern Claims." It is apparent from the York (town) records that his first wife, Lydia, had deceased prior to 10 Dec., 1690, for he had then married second, Mary, widow of John Sayward, and daughter of Edward and Susanna (Wheelwright) Rishworth. She was carried into captivity with two of her daughters by Sayward, but redeemed in Oct., 1695, by Matthew Cary, she returned home, and bore Plaisted two daughters, the first of whom was named Lydia, in affectionate remembrance of his previous wife. It is somewhat of a digression, but this research discloses bits of evidence that solve a much discussed question, and go to prove that the above Susanna (probably the eldest), daughter of the Rev. John Wheelwright, had first married Thomas Wight (i.e. White), of the Exeter Combination, and had by him the daughter, Mary White, who was adopted by Rishworth, is called "daughter [i.e. step-daughter], of Edward Rishworth," in her grandfather's will, and afterwards married the Rev. Shubael Dremmer.
W. M. S.

[2] This was Thomas Goodwin, third son of Daniel, the emigrant, by his wife, Margaret, daughter of Thomas and Patience (Chadbourne) Spencer; he was "brother" [in-law] to James Plaisted, having married Mehitable, youngest child of Roger and Olive Plaisted; he had by her, among others, Capt. Ichabod, whose grandson, Dr. James Scammon Goodwin, lately deceased at his home on Spring street in this city. Mrs. Mehitable (Plaisted) Goodwin was captured by the Indians at Berwick, March 18, 1689, '90, as narrated by Mather's Magnalia, 11, 598, and quoted by Belknap. She was a captive five years in Canada, redeemed by Cary in October 1695 (Gen. Reg., 24, 289). She returned to her home in Berwick, where she died. W. M. S.

cill of warr for yt in their taking Lord's house he said Goodson had killed one ffrenchman & mortally wounded another & further said there was Eight french ships assigned for Pascataqua river to destroy y^e^ same. The alarm being given to all adjacent Towns in order to their reliefe wee sent about thirty men from this Town, as many went from Dover, & a party from York together with w^t^ could be got from there own Town, but before they could unite there force it was neare night & then they marched wth about 100 men, under Comand of Capt Jo Hamond [1] of y^e^ upper part of Kittery, the scouts y^t^ went before, just as they came w^th^ in sight of Salmon falls discovered one of y^e^ Enemy who was binding up his pack & staying behind his company fell into our hands, w^ch^ proved to bee a ffrenchman, whose examination in short wee herewith send you & to morrow morning intend to send the person towards you by land, none by water being just ready to go; our ffriends proceeded in pursuit of y^e^ Enemy & about 2 mile above y^e^ ffort of Salmon falls at the farther house up in the woods ——— discovered them about y^e^ setting of y^e^ Sunn, our men presently fell upon them & they as resolutely opposed them, in short the fight lasted as long as they could see friends from Enemies in w^ch^ wee lost two men, one of York another of Cocheco kild upon ye place & 6 or 7 wounded. Some is feared mortally w^t^ damage wee did the Enemy wee cant at present say. This is all y^e^ acct. we at present give. to morrow intend you shall hear again from us. wee Intercom Subscribe ourselves

Hon^ble^ Sirs

Yo^r^ humble Servts.

WM. VAUGHAN,

RICHD MARTYN."

(Vol. 35, p. 326, Mass. Archives).

The French prisoner was sent to Portsmouth, and was quite

[1] Capt. or Maj. Joseph Hammond was the second son of Wm. Hammond (the name was spelt in various ways), who was born in England in 1597, came over in 1630, was made a freeman at Boston in 1636; moved to Wells; had two sons, Jonathan and Joseph, and daughters. He, William, died suddenly in 1702, aged 105 years. Joseph moved to Kittery; was made a counsellor of Massachusetts, and received a military commission. He was appointed register and clerk by Massachusetts Dec. 4, 1694, in the place of Capt. John Wincoll, deceased. He was seized by Indians near Saco fort, July 6, 1695, and carried to Canada. He was redeemed by Mathew Carey in October following, and returned to Kittery. He held the office of register for many years. He died, according to Savage, Feb. 24, 1710, according to his son's account, in 1709. He left one son, Joseph, and two daughters. (Savage, 2, 341. N. E. His. & Gen. Reg., 9, 312, 24, 289, Mass. His Coll., 5, 5th series, 396. Williamson, 1, 642).

communicative to the authorities. The following paper contains his statement:

"PORTSMº, 19th March, 1689, '90.

Upon Examination of the frenchman taken at Salmon ffals he saith

Their company that Attaqued Salmon ffals consisted of sixty men 30 french & 30 Indians who came from Canady the beginning of ffoube. (February) from a Town called three rivers laying above Cabeck (Quebec), that they had not been near any English Plantations since they came out till now but waited about twenty or thirty miles off severall days for a party of 20 or 30 Indians who promised to meet & Joyn wth them but came not, that they have lived wholly upon hunting, yt they came by order of the ffrench Govr at Canada that both ffrench & Indians are in pay at ten livres pp month. The said Govr is Count Frontonack yt arrived from ffrance last year in a man of warr wth severall merchant ships wch went away again in 8 ober, only two ships remain in Canada of twenty-five guns a piece. That two partys of ffrench & Indians of three hundred men in a Company, came out about the same time they came but whither they were designed he saith he knows not. That he knows nothing of the mischief done near Albany, that they intended to carry their captives to Canada and there sell them yt their design was not against this place when they came forth but principally against Monsieur Tyng & the place where he lived,[1] but he saith the Indians who were their principal pilots ded often vary in their opinions about what place to fall upon. wee cant understand whither it were Mr. Tyng, of merrimack river[2] or Casco Bay. That they saw no Considerable Company of Indians in their march only a few in some places hunting that they brought out with them ten pounds of powder and sixty bullets a piece, that there were sundry English captives at Canada, but he saw only three girls & a boy, that the ffrench are able to raise four or five thousand men in Canada able to bear arms & yt they had Thirty two Companies of fifty men in a Company in constant pay that the ffrench Capn name of this Company is Monsieur Artell (Hertel) his son being his lieutenant."

(Vol. 35, p. 325, Mass. Archives).

[1] This statement should have been good evidenee to the authorities that an attack on Casco was contemplated. Monsieur Tyng, whom the Frenchman named, should have been known to them as Capt. Ed. Tyng, the former commander of Fort Loyall, who as a skilled warrior against the Indians, was held in dread by them, and they were desirous of revenging themselves by an attack upon Casco.

[2] Mr. Tyng on the Merrimack river was a brother of Edward Tyng of Casco, and sons of the first Edward, who came here in 1630. Jonathan's residence was at Dunstable, near Tyngsboro, adjoining Lowell. He was father of Hon. John Tyng, who at times was a large owner of real estate in Falmouth, who was born in 1703, was a judge C. C. P.; died in Tyngsboro in 1797, aged 94.

The information given by this French prisoner of the proposed attack upon New England caused letters to be written from Major Charles Frost and others, to the Government of Massachusetts, dated Portsmouth, March 26, 1690, in reference to defending Piscataquis river against the expected attack of the French. (Vol. 35, page 371, Massachusetts Archives).

The Government sent to England for assistance:

"ORDER OF GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL.
(Andros' Tracts, 3, 63).

Ordered, that the sloop Resolution be forthwith be fitted up and despatched away for England at the public charge, with advice to their Majesties of the present danger their Majesties Colonys in these parts are in of Incursion by the French in Canada now in actual hostility with the crown of England, and of the want of armes and ammunitions to furnish the Country for their defence, And that some Gentlemen or Merchants be desired to take up money on the public Account to load her at the best rates they can agree. The Treasurer, Mr. Edward Bromfield[1] and Mr. Joseph Parsons[2] are appointed a Committee to purchase oyle or Logwood to load her without delay.

Voted in the affirmative by their Majesties.

ISA. ADDINGTON, Secr.

13 March 1689-90.
Consented to by the Deputies
EBENEZER PROUT,
Clerk."

This now brings us to the third party which had been fitted out by Frontenac for the destruction of Casco and Fort Loyall. It consisted of fifty French soldiers and fifty Abenakis Indians from the mission of St. Francis. They left Quebec in January, 1690,

[1] Edward Bromfield was born in England, June 10, 1648-49, came to New England in 1675. He was twice married, first about 1678, to Mrs. Elizabeth Brading; second to Miss Mary Danforth, of Roxbury. He was a member of the Council from 1703 to 1728. He was a member of the South church for about fifty years. He died in June, 1734, and was entombed in King's Chapel burying ground. The tombstone, still in good preservation, is in the northern side of the enclosure. He lived on the street that now bears his name. (N. E. His. & Gen. Reg., 25, 329).

[2] Joseph Parsons was of Boston; married Bertha, daughter of Thomas Brattle; was a member of the patriot council of war for the overthrow of Andros. (Savage, 3, 363).

under the command of Sieur de Portneuf. His lieutenant was Sieur de Courtemanche, his cousin. (Willis, p. 285 states on the authority of Capt. Davis' narrative that Courtemanche was at the capture of Schenectady). I do not find any other authority for that statement. He also erroneously, on the same authority, gives to Portneuf the name of Burniffe.

This party steadily and slowly advanced after leaving the St. Lawrence through the wilderness and mountain ranges that separate the waters of the St. Lawrence and those of the Kennebec, sustaining themselves by hunting and fishing. They rested at the Indian villages as they proceeded, and added to their numbers from the Indian recruits that offered. Previous to the departure of this party, Count Frontenac, during the winter previous, had sent messengers to the Baron de Castine on the Penobscot,[1] stating his intention to attack the white settlements in Maine in the spring, and requesting his assistance with a force of the Penobscot tribe. Castine readily complied. He was still smarting with the injuries he had received from Sir Edmund Andros and the English a short time previous, and was eager for an attack upon Casco and Fort Loyall. During the winter months, and after having received orders from Frontenac, he had selected the best of the Tarratine warriors, gathered ammunition and stores, and with his father-in-law Madockawando,[2] the chief of the Penobscots, accompanied by

[1] A road through the wilderness, for messingers to pass to and from; from Quebec to Pentagout (Penobscot) and Fort Royal, was opened as early as 1671. (N. Y. Col. Doc., IX, 72).

[2] Madockawando was a chief of the Penobscot tribe, an adopted son of the chief Assiminasqua. He was not an enemy to the English at the beginning, but as they began a warfare on his people, it instigated him to retaliate, and in the subsequent wars, the Penobscot tribe, "under the direction of Madockawando and Mugg, performed their full share in the work of desolation and death, which was dealt out so freely to this devoted province." (Willis, p. 199). Madockawando is described by Hubbard (II, 177). "as of a strange kind of a moralized savage grave and serious in speech and carriage, and not without some show of religion." At the close of the war of 1675-6, his tribe had among them about sixty English captives. When it was known to him that the English desired to treat about peace, he sent Mugg, one of his chiefs, to Portsmouth to receive proposals, and that he might meet with a good acceptance, he sent with him a captive to his honor. Capt. Gendall, of Casco, mentioned on page 31, ante, being there, forced Mugg aboard his vessel and carried him to Boston. He being in the power of the English, Madockawando

at least one hundred of the warlike men of that tribe, they started to meet the expedition from Quebec, in April, 1690. They, carrying their canoes, traversed the short distance between the waters of the Penobscot and the river Sebasticook, and floated down the stream to its junction with the Kennebec in the present town of Winslow, and at which point Fort Halifax [1] was subsequently constructed. When on the waters of the Kennebec they were in communication with the Indians in that vicinity, and they were soon joined by the party from Quebec under the command of Portneuf. Soon the party of Hertel, who had destroyed Salmon Falls, came up with them, and an agreement was made respecting the expedition against Casco. The different parties rendezvoused at Merrymeeting Bay, and they comprised a force of between four and five hundred. The French leaders were Portneuf,[2] Hertel, Baron de Castine, and Courtemanche.[3] The Indian chiefs were

was forced to agree to such terms as the English dictated. It is no wonder, then, that the great chief soon appeared again as their enemy. Madockawando remained quiet till the commencement of the King William war, when he took up arms, and in various places in Maine attacked the English inhabitants, and in connection with his son in law, Baron de Castine, took part in the attack upon Casco. In 1691, he, with other chiefs, made a treaty with the English. In 1692, he planned the expedition against York, and succeeded beyond his expectations. The whole town was laid in ashes, except three or four garrison houses; seventy-five were killed and eighty-five captured. He also was in the attack upon Wells, in 1692, under Portneuf, where the French and Indians were repulsed. August 11, 1693, he, with eleven other chiefs, made a treaty with Sir William Phipps, at Pemaquid. The inhabitants of Black Point gave yearly a peck of corn, each, to Madockawando, as an acknowledgement that he was Sachem of Penobscot. Very little more is recorded of the career of this powerful Sachem. He was probably not present at the capture of Pemaquid Fort in 1696, by D'Iberville, although a large force of the Penobscot tribe, with Baron de Castine, were there. He died in 1698, and was succeeded by Wenamont, or sometimes called Wenoggonet. This life of Madockawando is mainly taken from Drake's Indians (Book III, pp. 103-109, 120).

[1] Fort Halifax was built by the Plymouth Company in 1754. For an account of the same see Me. His. Soc. Coll., VII, 167-198; VIII, 201-289.

[2] Portneuf was a lieutenant in an expedition against the Seneca Indians in 1687, and was promoted. He was in command at the taking of Casco, and led a large force of French and Indians against Wells in 1692.

[3] Sieur de Courtemanche was the cousin of Portneuf, the leader of the expedition. After his return to Canada he was employed in various expeditions against the western Indians, and received honors from the Canadian government. He was sent as a special envoy to Boston in 1706; was taken sick and returned to Quebec in an English vessel.

Madockawando and Moxus[1] of the Penobscot tribe; Hopegood (a murderous savage), a celebrated chief of the Norridgewock tribe; also Robin Doney,[2] a treacherous half-breed; Hignon,[3] and some inferior chieftains. The gathering of this array of forces was in the early part of May, and was ominous of the dark cloud that was soon to burst upon poor doomed Casco.

I would here state that the sources of information which I have examined respecting the expeditions fitted out in Canada, and the attacks upon Casco, are quite voluminous. Both the French accounts taken from the archives at Paris, and the English reports in the main agree as to the origin of this attack, and its results. The French dates are some eight days later than the English, which is caused by the French using the Gregorian calendar, and the English adhering to the old style.

While these preparations were being made by its enemies for the attack upon Fort Loyall and Casco, what were its inhabitants and the government of Massachusetts doing for its defense? Nothing! After having disposed of Sir Edmund Andros by sending him to England for trial, they became aware that the enemy were menacing the frontier eastern settlements. They had heard of the attacks of the savages upon Schenectady and Salmon

[1] Moxus, or Agamagus, was a Tarratine, and one of the most valiant and puissant sachems of the east, and was active in the hostilities against the English. He was in the attack upon Wells, in 1692. After the death of Madockawando, he became his successor, and made a treaty with the English in 1699. He concluded another treaty with Gov. Dudley, at the fort in New Casco, in 1702, but in 1703, he, with other Indians and French, made an attack upon the fort there. He was at Falmouth in 1713, to make a treaty with the English, and at Georgetown, for the same purpose, in 1717. This is the last that we hear of him. (Drake's Indians, III, 107, 110, 124, 139).

[2] Robin Doney was a half-breed, the son of a Frenchman who had taken up his abode among the Indians. He exercised great cruelty towards the prisoners who were taken at Casco. His wife having been killed by Church in 1689, made him revengeful and merciless. In 1693 he became reconciled to the English, and signed a treaty with them at Pemaquid. A year after he was seized at Saco with three others. There is no record as to what became of him.

[3] Hignon. There were several Indian chiefs (Drake's Indians, iii. 123, 124), of that name. One of them, Ned Higgon, signed a treaty with the English in 1685. He was one of the Indians taken by Capt. Sargent at Saco, and sent to Fort Loyall in 1688, and afterward released by Andros. He was at the capture of Fort Loyall. One of the name was killed at the Brackett farm in 1694, as related by Willis, p. 288. (Drake's Indians, iii. 114, 118, 124, 126).

Falls, and they thought it necessary that something should be done. Therefore, under the command of Sir William Phipps, a naval and land force was organized to strike a blow at the French and Indians who were threatening Casco, by sailing up the Bay of Fundy to batter down a fort or so, and capture Port Royal.[1]

Capt. Willard at that time was in command of Fort Loyall, with a force of one hundred men, placed there the winter before by Maj. Frost, who was in command of the forces in Maine. If they had remained, Fort Loyall would not have been taken. Notwithstanding this, Sir Wm. Phipps[2] sailed with his fleet from Boston for the conquest of Nova Scotia, April 28, 1690.[3] One account says that he came into the harbor here and took away from Fort Loyall Captain Willard and nearly all his men, and sailed away to achieve glory in far distant fields, leaving the defence of Fort Loyall and Casco to its brave inhabitants. French writers say this was done within a few hours previous to the attack upon the Fort, others say within a few days, but according to the letters from Captain Willard and Captain Davis, Captain Willard and some of his soldiers left for Boston. It is immaterial how and when they left. They were withdrawn by order of the Massa-

[1] Port Royal, now called Annapolis, is situated at the head of the Bay of Fundy. It was the first European settlement in this part of North America, being settled in 1604. The country was then named Acadia. It was captured by Massachusetts, under Sir Wm. Phipps, in 1690, and re-captured by the French, in 1691. It was finally captured by the English in 1710, and called Annapolis, in honor of Queen Anne.

[2] Sir Wm. Phipps was born in Woolwich, Me., Feb. 2, 1651. He was a ship-carpenter, moved to Boston in 1673, where he learned to read and write. He recovered a large amount of treasure from a Spanish wreck near the Bahamas, of which £16,000 was given him as his share, and he was knighted. In 1690 he commanded the fleet which captured Port Royal in Nova Scotia, and in October of that year the larger one which failed in the attack upon Quebec. Under the new charter he was appointed governor in 1692. In 1694 he was summoned to England to answer complaints against him. He died in London, Feb. 18, 1695. See his life in Sparks' Amer. Biog. (Amer. Cyclopedia, XIII, 449).

[3] The statements as regards Capt. Willard being withdrawn a few days before the attack upon Fort Loyall are conflicting. Willis says, p. 281, "Capt. Willard, an experienced officer from Salem, was ordered in February to pursue the enemy to headquarters." Mather says (see page 66, post), that Willard was called off a day or two previous to the attack. French writers say this was done within a few hours or a few days. All these accounts are erroneous, according to the letter written by Capt. Willard (page 66, post).

chusetts government, and this piece of stupidity on the part of Massachusetts cost Casco the lives of its brave defenders and its inhabitants.

Williamson, I, 620, says, "that when news was heard of the approach of the enemy towards Fort Loyall, that President Danforth ordered Major Frost to detach without delay one hundred men from the Provincial militia, to be joined by a party from the garrison, all of whom under Capt. Willard were directed to proceed in the search and pursuit of the enemy." (This was said to have been done May 10). This order from Maj. Frost referred to was given Feb. 17, 1689; see page 55, ante; and Mather (Magnalia, 2, 602), says: "It was a misfortune to Casco, though not to Willard, that so promising an officer should be called off two or three days before the attack." If this had not been done Casco would have been saved; but I find no evidence of these statements. The following letter from Capt. Willard is not very creditable to him, and shows cowardice on his part. Capt. Davis was ready to stay and meet the foe. Capt. Willard was anxious to leave, and made a flimsy excuse for that purpose, and he did so, and some of his company followed him, and Capt. Davis and his brave comrades were left to their fate:

"FALMOUTH, May 9, 1690.

Att a meeting of our company having y^e^ advice of ye cheife men of y^e^ place, ye most of them that are there, wee having looked long for Maj^r^ ffrost but he is not yet come to order & settle our Garrisons y^e^ private intelligence from Boston having much Disturbed our Souldiers & we being in something of a distressed condition, it has been concluded that Capt. Davis or myselfe should be sent to Boston to ye Honorable Council & Capt. Silvanus Davis being unwilling to goe thither myself it being thus presented to as before s^d^ while I goe to Boston to y^e^ Hon^le^ Councill I leave ye Garrisons in other places under ye command of their formor particular Commanders & att ffalmouth Sergt. Rich. Hicks is to be over ye Garrison at Ingersols & he is also to command in exercising the company & scouting as occasion serves. Joseph Hoit is to take command of Mr. Robt. Lawrences Garison always advising with Sergt. Hicks as occasion may be, not changeing of Souldiers without the consenting of both officers concerned. Nathl. White Sergant to be ye commander of ye halfe moon garrison, all of them as occasion serves advising with Capt. Silvanus Davis Capt.

of ye ffort, all of these sergts. are so take dilligent heed of the maijntaining a careful watch by day & night & not to have less than 16 or 18 hands lodging in each of ye outside Garisons in ye night time, these things to be observed untill I come again hither or until a discharge comes to our company from ye Councill. The company also engaging not to be mutinous nor to draw off their Part or charge, except absolute want of victuals force them to it until I come again hither or until orders come to draw them off which I hope will not be much above three weeks after my departure or sooner if may be. I do engage to do my best endeavour to get a discharge for my company or if that fails to come again myselfe hither within the time mentioned.

SIMON WILLARD.

(Vol. 36, page 55, Mass. Archives).

The following is a letter from Capt. Sylvanus Davis to the government of Massachusetts, under date of May 12, 1690, five days before the attack commenced upon Fort Loyall. Capt. Davis was not an educated man, and some of his writing is hardly legible, but we get from him a clear statement of the state of affairs then existing, and the patriotism of Captain Davis and his brave associates is clearly exhibited:

TO THE HONORABLE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL IN BOSTON.

Honorable Gentlemen,

I am Greeved at this time that I have causes to p^rsent your honors with these lines; it is not to complane of any particular person, but as duty obleeges me to acquaint you with the conditions of this poore town, that after the Grate and charge you have bin at for our defense, both with men and other nessery^s in a large method and all soe such rules that you were pleased to order to bee taken to keep those of our inhabitants what was then remaining amongst us & that they should bee sufred to draw of and Leave us, for sence your Honors Last order came by Lt. Thaddeus Clark, there are gone of nearly 20 men. Soe that wee have harly 8 men in our town but what are listed or Impressed Souldjers which needed not have bin, if thoes that did pretend to bee in absolute power would have bin Industrious in what they did intend to but for want of dexterity and diligence, our people are gone and the Town is broken up and the Lives & ffortunes of thoes that haue bin & are willing to stay & to venture thair all for the defence of their majesties Interest Leyes at Stake. Capt. Willard is resailed for Boston he says it is with the consent of the chiefes (selectmen) of the Town. I know of none of the inhabitants y^e concent to y^t

except his own Soudjers & thoes of our inhabitants that are listed into his company. Hoping that they may draw of After him this is not only my Judgment—but the chiefe (selectman) of our small number of Inhabitants are of the same oppinion, & I doe really believe if there bee not some speedy corse Taken here will be only left thoes few in the fort with mee and 3 or 4 of the inhabitants that are not listed *and wee will hassard our lives upon the place rather than* Drawe of without orders *naither* have wee any desire to be drawed off, but humbly crave your Honorable assistance for the keeping of this part of the province, & all thoue our Inhabitants bee gone that may bee, as many of them soone Brotght to gether that may be sent in the room of the Souldjers that bee here. Now i am on willing to Truble yer Honors with complaints, i wish wee had noe needs. i am shure if wee had Discharged our Dutys in our plasses according to that Trust wee have taken upon us and the powers wee have pretended vnto without helps & men we might have done more for *God* and there majestys interests & the Good of the Country. myselfe & others have often promoted & proffesed that a party of our men should be scouting abroad sometime by land, soome time by water to Indevor to discover the Hants of the Enemy, but we have bin still honored by suggestions, what if a body of Indians should come upon the Town the while & such like it is a pleasant thing for Souldjers to lay still in Garrison. offered probitions & waste admonition on Grate show but the Souldjers are not to be blamed if the commander will let it bee soe. what i write it is Greefe of harte to Think that the Bowells of the Country as spun out for us and wee neglect our duty, y$^{t}$ i hope in Convenient time to make it appear that if i had not been hono.

This day two men going over the water to plant, one was kild, the other was carried away, the surcumstances Capt. Willard can fully inform you. I Haue Gaue Maj$^{r}$ Phillips[1] an account of our wants being seled up in a letter to him i Did not intend to have Trobbled y$^{r}$ with many Lines but I am Greeved to see our poore nabors Destroyed and soe Littel care Taken amongst our folks to Indiver the discovery of the enemy I humbly crave y$^{r}$ pardon for any ing I have said in my wrighting baging in the behalfe of the small number of Inhabitants that wish y$^{tt}$ contenuing with us that you would consider our condition and that if it may Stand with your ffavor, our Town may not bee desarted. praying always to God for his Grassious presence to be in the midst of your Councills and Blessyd Gobernment. Desiring your prayers for us I subscribe my selfe y$^{r}$ Honors most Humble Servant.

SILVANUS DAVIS."

May y$^{e}$ 12$^{th}$, 1690.

(Vol. 35, Mass. Archives).

[1] This was probably Maj. Wm. Phillips of Saco, from whom assistance had been asked.

This urgent appeal from Capt. Davis met with no response from the Massachusetts Government, and the inhabitants of this "poor town" were left to their own resources to defend themselves against four or five hundred French and Indians, who were then hovering upon their borders.

The forces which were to be arrayed against Falmouth, came into Casco Bay, from the Kennebec, by the way of the New Meadows river.[1] It was but a short carry for them to transport their canoes across the neck of land which separates the two waters. No white settlements were on their track, as the whole country was deserted by the inhabitants, who had retired to the protection of Fort Loyall.

After reaching Casco Bay, they made their rendezvous on some of the Islands.[2] They were discovered by some of the whites, as their fleet of canoes passed over its waters. But from their appearance, it was not supposed that they would molest Casco; and the inhabitants felt more confidence in their security. Meanwhile the Indian scouts were ascertaining the situation of affairs. In the darkness of the night, they roamed the forests, and in their canoes, paddled the waters[3] about Fort Loyall, to ascertain its strength, and how it could be captured. Its shadowy walls and frowning cannon were a terror and menace to them. They remembered their defeat by the valiant men of Casco, at the Brackett farm, the fall before, which made them cautious and wary. Portneuf's commission directed him to lay waste the English settlements, and not to attempt fortified places.[4] But they knew quite well the number of the English forces left after the departure

[1] New Meadows river rises in Bath, about a half mile from Merry Meeting Bay. It was formerly called Stevens' river. The narrow neck of land between was called Stevens' carrying place. (History of Brunswick etc.)

[2] The Islands in Casco Bay were the favorite resorts of the Indians. The clam shell heaps, now found on them, show an extensive occupation of them by the aborigines.

[3] "Our people lay on the nights of the 26 and 27th, on the ocean within fifty feet of the fort." See French account (p. 76, post).

[4] Not to attack fortified places. See Ibid.

of Capt. Willard, and they also knew that their force was much larger than that of the English.

Some of the Indian scouts, who were reconnoitering on Presumpscot bay, near the falls, killed and scalped a Scotchman, by the name of Robert Greason.[1] His family fled in terror to the protection of Casco, some four miles distant, and that was the first notice the whites had of the expected attack. The alarm cry was sounded. The few soldiers and men of the town gathered at the fort and garrison houses with promptness, and full of courage, ready to defend their homes against the savage foes. They did not wait long, for the Indians finding that they were discovered, by the alarms sounded, made preparations for a speedy attack. Amid the darkness of the night of the fifteenth of May, they moved their forces from the islands to that part of Munjoy hill, which at this day bears the name of "Indian Cove,"[2] near the G. T. R. bridge. Munjoy hill was then covered with a forest growth, except a portion of it near the present observatory, which was open pasture land, where grazed the cattle belonging to the town. At Indian Cove, the Indians were hid from observation, and in the morning a detachment of them proceeded to the top of Munjoy hill, and concealed themselves in the low woods and underbrush, to the north of now Congress street, waiting for the opportunity to begin the attack. They did not wait long; they were discovered by some of the soldiers at the Lawrence garrison house, which was communicated to Capt. Davis and the forces at Fort Loyall. The brave officers resolved upon a sortie, and an attempt to dislodge and drive away this (as it was supposed), small party of Indians. Toward noon a party of young men, full of zeal and courage, under the command of Lieut. Thaddeus Clark,[3] left the fort,

[1] He was a Scotchman and lived on the east side of the Presumpscot, near the falls. (Willis, p. 282).

[2] See plan.

[3] As regards the destruction of Thaddeus Clark and party in a note to Charlevoix's account, III, Shea Ed., 133–136. It is said, De la Potherie, History de l'Amerique, Sept. III, p. 69. say thirty, and this is confirmed by Davis' declaration, and by Williamson. History Maine, I, 620, who say they were commanded

marched up Broad (now India), and through Queen (now Congress), to the foot of Munjoy hill. Not a drum was heard or a musical sound, as they marched bravely and compactly to meet the hidden foe; with the valor of Englishmen they went up to Munjoy hill to what they knew would be certain death to many of them. From the foot of the hill a narrow lane, fenced in on both sides, extended up to the Lawrence house, occupying nearly the present lines of Congress street. The Indians were hid behind the fences, and in the woods. The force of Lieut. Clark marched up this lane, but made no discovery until within a short distance of the place of ambush. "They were fired upon, and before they could defend themselves, were fallen upon by the French and Indians, with their swords and tomahawks with so great slaughter that but few escaped, and they badly wounded." The foregoing is one account of the affair. I now give Mather's account of this encounter:[1]

"Lieut. Clark with near thirty of the stoutest young men, ventured out as far as the top of an hill in the entrance to the wood, half a mile distant from the town. The outlet from the town to the wood was then a lane, which had a certain block-house (Lawrence House), at one end of it; and the English were suspicious when they came to enter the lane that the Indians were lying behind the fence; because the cattle stood staring that way, and would not pass into the wood as they used to. This mettlesome company then ran up to the fence with an huzza! thinking thereby to discourage the enemy if they should be lurking there; but the enemy were so well prepared for them that they answered them with an horrible vengeance that they killed the lieutenant with thirteen more on the spot, and the rest escaped with much ado into one of the garrisons" (Lawrence House).

The French account taken from the Paris Documents,[2] is the following, viz.:

"At noon thirty men issued from the principal fort, and came to the spot

by Lieut. Thaddeus Clark. De la Potherie History de l'Amerique, Sept. III, p. 79, and Williamson, I, p. 620, say thirteen men fell at the first fire, but in a note on p. 662, he brings the same matter in again as a massacre after the surrender. Gov. Bradstreet in a letter to Leisler, May 30, 1690, O. S., makes the party sallying out twenty-six. O'Callaghan's Doc. Hist., II, p. 146.

[1] Magnalia, ii, 603, 604.

[2] N. Y. Col. Doc., IX, 472.

where our people lay, who having discharged their guns at ten paces distant, rushed on them sword and hatchet in hand, and pursued them so hotly that only five of them, all of whom were wounded, entered the fort again. As our men followed hot foot they were exposed to the fire of one of the forts, in the proximity of which they happened to find themselves. One Frenchman received a wound in the thigh, and an Indian was killed. At night the principal fort was summoned to surrender, but an answer was returned '*that they should defend themselves to the death.*'"

Thus was the commencement of that struggle which lasted four days and nights, and which so resounded to the honor and glory of our ancestors and forefathers.

After this disheartening event, the destruction of Clark and his party, the few who were left retreated to the protection of the Lawrence garrison house. This was a wooden block house in its upper story, with a stone foundation. The inmates defended themselves during the day, and at night the Indians withdrew. The defenders knew that the attack would be renewed in the morning, with an increased force of the enemy, and they being short of ammunition, withdrew, as did the occupants of the other garrison houses in the town, during the siege to the protection of Fort Loyall. Before leaving the Lawrence garrison, they fired a slow match leading to a quantity of powder in a cask, hoping that after they had left, and the enemy entered, an explosion might take place, which would destroy their assailants. But the first Indian who entered, in the gray of the morning, spied the burning match and extinguished it.

During the night of the 16th of May, all the forces from the garrison houses were withdrawn into Fort Loyall, and also all the inhabitants, young and old, the weak and the strong, the mother and her infant children; to the number of two hundred or more, found a hoped for refuge and place of safety, within the wooden walls of this protected fort. The fighting force was not above seventy men. The brave Lieut. Clark was no more. Capt. Davis, Lieuts. Lawrence, Brackett,[1] and others, encouraged and

[1] See Anthony Brackett (p. 81, post).

cheered the small band of heroes. It was a time of dread suspense. No hope or expectation of assistance from any quarter could be had. Capt. Willard and his soldiers had, by the weakness of the Massachusetts government, been taken away, and they had but their own strong hands and their hope in the Almighty God to defend them against the savage attack to be made in a few hours. Who can doubt that from the well known religious character of Capt. Davis and his companions, that in the silent watches of the night, preceeding the day of the battle, that the prayers of these brave men ascended to the God of battles for his support in this hour of their despair.

They hoped, that by the aid of their cannon, they might be able to repulse and drive away the enemy, — if a breach was made, so that their foes could enter, there would be no hope for them, that they would be destroyed by overpowering numbers.

On the next morning, the 16th, the enemy commenced the attack; with flaming torches, setting on fire the deserted houses in the immediate vicinity of Fort Loyall, and the skies were illumined by the conflagration. The houses on Broad (India street), Thames and Fore streets, were soon in flames. The horrors of the situation can be imagined at this time; the distress and anguish of those in the fort, as they witnessed the destruction of their homes can be conceived. But in this dark hour of despair did our fathers show any lack of courage or want of bravery? No! When the fort was surrounded by the bands of French and savage Indians, who, amid their terriffic yells and savage war-whoops, demanded its immediate surrender, according to French accounts, the reply of the commander of the fort was, "*That they should defend themselves to the death!*"[1] Nobly they did it; and nobly they died. The first day of the siege passed with no definite results, the enemy having gained no advantages. The besieged watched every exposed situation, and whenever a gathering of the besiegers was made, the cannon of the fort sent death and destruction among them. The next day, May 17th, the French leaders be-

[1] N. Y. Col. Man., IX, 472.

came satisfied, that, notwithstanding their larger force that they had, they could not capture the fort. Having no cannon to make a breach in its walls, they could only with their guns pick off those of its defenders who exposed themselves. The cannon of the fort prevented any attempt being made to take it by storm. It was at length determined to make a breach under the bank to its foundation. In the deserted garrisons they found tools suitable for the purpose, and they began a mine within fifty feet of the fort, under a steep bank, which entirely protected them from its guns.[1] At what part of the fort this trench or mine was dug is at this day a matter of conjecture only. My impression, from a knowledge of its location, before the changes that have since been made there, are that the trench was dug from the India street side, in an easterly direction; as the rock formation on the other side of the fort would prevent any such work.

During these days of siege the red-crossed banner of England floated over the Fort. On both sides the firing was sharp and heavy. The roar of the cannon echoing in the surrounding forests, the reports of musketry, the flaming houses of the inhabitants, the war-whoops and yells of the savages outside the palisades, the cries and fears of women and children inside the Fort who saw their husbands and fathers fall before the bullets of the French, or brought in wounded to die in the arms of their loved ones, were scenes of terror that can hardly be described or imagined.

The defenders of the fort were but a small and feeble band; but they firmly stood, repelling the assaults of the foe. Whenever a Frenchman or Indian exposed themselves a musket bullet found its way to them. The English wasted much ammunition in their vain efforts to dislodge their besiegers, who, in undermining the fort, were in such a situation that they were protected from its cannon. Capt. Davis encouraged his men to renewed exertions, knowing well that if the fort surrendered to the Indians no quarter could be expected, and they preferred to meet their deaths defend-

[1] N. Y. Col. Man., IX, 472.

ing themselves and families on the walls of the fort, than trust themselves to the mercies of their savage foes.

It was found that the mine commenced by the enemy under the walls of the fort was proving a success, that in a day or two the results expected would be accomplished, and a further defense of the fort would be useless. The last day of the siege was May 20th, of which the anniversary was yesterday. Another terror was added to the horrors that surrounded this brave band. At different times during the siege attempts had been made to set fire to the fort and the buildings therein enclosed; flaming arrows and combustibles had been fired by the Indians, but they had been unsuccessful. The flames they kindled had been extinguished. But on the last day of the siege a machine[1] (as the French termed it), had been obtained which was probably an ox-cart, which was filled with combustible materials, including a barrel of tar (birch bark[2]). This cart was pushed up the trench that had been made, close up to the walls of the fort. Those who were pushing it up were protected by the cart from the fire of those in the fort. The flames soon began to crackle and take hold of the logs of which the palisades were constructed. The inmates of the fort then knew that they were doomed, that no choice was left to them but to surrender or be destroyed in the flames. Up to that time the English did not appear to know that there were any French among their assailants, supposing from the equipment and dress that they were all Indians. Some order given by the French leader in French accent reaches the ear of Capt. Davis, which gave him a ray of hope. If there were any whites among their foes would they not respect the rights of war and humanity, and protect them if they surrendered from their savage associates? Up went the white flag of surrender! I here give Capt. Davis' account of what was done:

"We then demanded," he says, "if there were any French among them, and

[1] Probably a large ox-cart.

[2] Bradstreet to Leisler mentions the use of birch bark to fire the place. (N. Y. Doc. His., II, 146).

if they would give us quarter? The response came back from the leader in command that there were Frenchmen, and would give us good quarter. Upon that we sent out to them again to know from whence they came, and if they would give us good quarter, both for our men, women and children, both wounded and sound, and that we should have liberty to march to the next English town, and have a guard for our defence and safety unto the next English town, — then we would surrender, — and also that the Governor of the French should hold up his hand and swear by the great and everlasting God, that the several articles should be performed. All of which he did solemnly swear to perform, but as soon as they had us in their custody, they broke their articles, suffered our women and children and our men to be made captives in the hands of the heathen; to be cruelly murdered and destroyed, many of them, especially the wounded men; only the French kept myself and 3 or 4 more, and carried us over land to Canada."

The French account of the capture, taken from the French Archives,[1] is as follows:

"The Count was not to attack any fort for fear of losing too many people, but to attend exclusively to laying waste the country. This order could not be executed, all the surrounding places having been abandoned in consequence of notice of the approach of this party having been given by a soldier, who had been with M. Hertel, and had been taken prisoner by the English. Under these circumstances it was unanimously resolved to attack the large fort in force, as it was impossible to capture it otherwise. The entire of the enemy had withdrawn into it; and had abandoned the four smaller ones. Our people lay during the nights of the 26th and 27th (May) on the ocean, within fifty paces of the fort, under cover of a very bold bluff, whence they had no fear of the enemy's continued cannonadings and heavy fire of musquetry. On the night of the 28th, the trench (traversee) was opened. Our Canadians and Indians had not much experience in that mode of besieging places. They did not fail to work vigorously, and by good fortune found in the forts that had been abandoned, some implements wherewith to remove the earth. This work advanced with such rapidity that the enemy demanded a parley. In the course of the night of the 28th, they were required to surrender their fort, stores and garrison. They asked on their side for six days to consider their proposals. They were allowed only the night to make up their minds, and the work continued. Their fire redoubled the next morning. They then threw a quantity of grenades without much effect. On arriving by trenches at the palisades, preparations were made to set those on fire by means of a barrel of tar, that had also been

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., IX, 471, 472.

discovered, and some combustibles. Seeing this machine approaching very near them, and not being able to prevent it, those who pushed it along being sheltered in the trench, they hoisted a white flag in order to capitulate. Their commander surrendered himself shortly after to Sieur de Portneuf, and the entire garrison, and those of the fort marched out to the number of 70 men, exclusive of women and children. They were all conducted to the camp. A moment after four vessels crowded with people made their appearance, but seeing no English flag flying, they retired.[1] (This statement I do not find authenticated from any other source.) The fort was fired, the guns spiked, the stores burnt, and all the inmates made prisoners. *The Indians retained a majority of them.* Capt. Davis, the commander, and two daughters of his lieutenant who had been killed (Thaddeus Clark), were brought hither (Quebec) with some others. Our people decamped on the first of June, after having set fire to all the houses they found within a circle of two leagues, all of which were unoccupied. They arrived here (Quebec) on the 23d of the same month, St. John's eve. One Frenchman had his arm broken by a cannon ball, and an Indian received a wound in the thigh."

This French account from which I have quoted, is an extract of a letter from M. de Monseignat,[2] to the celebrated M. de. Maintenon,[3] giving an account of the most remarkable occurrences in Canada, from November, 1689 to November, 1690.

Both of these accounts agree as to the terms of surrender granted by the leader of the French, Sieur de Portneuf, to the brave garrison, and they also agree that the treaty was barbarously

[1] These vessels were undoubtedly the shallop and other boats which came from Piscataqua river, of which mention is made (post).

[2] M. de Monseignat was Comptroller General of the marine and fortifications of New France. He was a protege of the celebrated M. de Maintenon, and was the Secretary of Governor Frontenac. (N. Y. Col. Doc., IX, 491, 663).

[3] Maintenon Francoise d' Aubigne, Marchionesse de, second wife of Louis XIV, of France, was born Nov. 17, 1635, and died April 15, 1719. She, at the age of sixteen years, married the deformed poet, Scarron. She was at that time extremely graceful and witty. Her husband died in October, 1660. She received from Louis a pension of 2,000 francs a year, and in 1669 he made her governess of his children. She was made a Marchionesse under the name of Maintenon. The Queen was much attached to her, and died in her arms, July 30, 1683. Some time after, Louis XIV, who had vainly solicited her to become his mistress, was secretly married to her. From that time to his death, the King was greatly under her influence, though she exercised her power with prudence and judgment. After the death of the King, she retired to the Convent of St. Cyr, where she spent the rest of her life in acts of charity and devotional exercises. (Amer. Cyclopedia, XI, 39, 40).

and grossly violated. The French account slurs over the massacre, by saying that "the *Indians retained the majority of them*," the prisoners, which is, that they being given by the French into the hands of the Indians were cruelly murdered. The notorious Indian chief, Hopegood, is said to have been one of the principal actors in the bloody scene.[1] At least two hundred persons, men, women and children, surrendered. Not more than ten or twelve of them had their lives spared. This savage massacre must always stand as a foul blot upon the reputation of the French officers who commanded at this siege. To the honor of Frontenac, the Governor of Canada, it may be said that when the expedition returned to Canada, and a report was made to him of the murder of the prisoners, he was very angry with Portneuf, and denounced his cruelty, and took all the means in his power to obtain from the Indians the captives they had brought to Canada.

An attempt has been made to place the barbarity of the French and Indians upon Baron de Castine as being the leader of the forces. And here Williamson in his history of Maine implicates St. Castine in an act of the grossest perfidy. He says: "That by the articles of capitulation it was stipulated that all within the garrison should receive kind treatment, and be allowed to go to the nearest provincial towns under the protection of a guard; to the faith and observance of which Castine lifted his hand and swore by the everlasting God. The gates were then opened, when a scene ensued which shocks humanity. The prisoners who were seventy in number, besides women and children, were called heretics, rebels and traitors, the dupes of a Dutch usurper, and treated with every insult and abuse." It does not appear upon what authority this statement relative to Castine is made. It cannot be correct. Capt. Davis who is the English authority in regard to the surrender, says, "it was the governor of the French who held up his hand," &c. Baron de Castine was neither the gover-

[1] Hopegood. Not long after this, Hopegood ended his cruel career, by being slain in Canada by some Indians who took him for an Iroquois. He had once been a captive, and served a time in Boston as a slave. (Drake's Indians, III, 118).

nor or the commander of the French. Portneuf was the governor. But Charlevoix, who is one of the French authorities, says: "Portneuf told the governor (of the fort) that he must expect no conditions as a prisoner of war with all his garrison."[1] . . . . . There is no evidence that Castine was the leader in this attack. His former reputation of kind treatment to prisoners would seem to preclude the idea that his influence was on the side of cruelty to those defenceless persons.

Another account (History of Acadia, Hannay, p. 230), says: "This expedition differed from the others by reason of the fact that the English were not surprised, but the overwhelming number of the enemy made the result the same." The same author says that some of the Indians who attacked Casco were from the St. John.

Charlevoix, Shea Ed., 4, 133, says "Casco Bay (Kaskebe), was a town on the sea-coast, with a very well built fort. It had eight pieces of artillery mounted, and lacked neither ammunition or provisions." A note to this says: "The place called by the French 'Kaskebe,' their mode of writing Casco Bay, which they took for the name of the town, was Falmouth, now Portland, Maine. The fort was Fort Loyal. It stood at the foot of King street." Me. His. Coll., I, p. 203; N. Y. Col. Doc., IX, 472; Willis Portland, p. 284.

Thus was Fort Loyall captured and destroyed. Thus was the infant settlement of Falmouth swept out of existence. Thus were its brave defenders cruelly murdered. It was the Government of Massachusetts, who were criminally responsible for this severe disaster to the rising settlements of Maine. They closed their ears against the piteous appeals for assistance that came from those whom they should have protected, and left them to die on their own hearth stones, defending their homes, their families and their honor.

Massachusetts was for some two years even unmindful of the rights of sepulture, which these poor victims were entitled to.

[1] Maine His, Soc. Coll., VII, 60.

Her ships were passing to and from Nova Scotia and Canada, returning with the victors of Annapolis, and the defeated forces who had made the attempt on Quebec. But the bones of the defenders of Casco lay through the bleaching suns and winter's snows until 1692, when on one of Church's expeditions from Boston to Pemaquid to build a fort there. Sir William Phipps accompanied them. In the narrative of the expedition it is said:

"Coming to Boston his Excellency having got all things in readiness, embarked on board their transports, his Excellency going in person with them bound to Pemaquid. But in that way they stopped at Casco, and buried the bones of the dead people there, and took off the great guns that were there, then went to Pemaquid." A note says: "That is the bones of those who had been destroyed there by the savages under the Sieur Hartel, 17th May, 1690."[1]

Probably these remains were placed in one grave, of which no record exists. It is hoped that the Eastern Cemetery, the ancient city of our dead, which at that time was the common burial ground, was the recipient of the bones of those whose place of sepulchre is unknown, to whom our gratitude and reverence are due.

The names of but few of those who died on those days are known. A few names have come down to us from the past. The Lieut. Thaddeus Clark,[2] whose descendants are with us. John

[1] Church expeditions, 2 —.

[2] Thaddeus Clark came from Ireland. He married Elizabeth, the second daughter of Michael Mitton. Although a man of standing and enterprise, he had a limited education, his signature to instruments was made by a mark. He had granted him by his wife's mother, Elizabeth Mitton, one hundred acres of land at Clark's point, now where the Gas Works are located. He built a house on the bank, between the present Tyng and State streets. His elder daughter married Capt. Edward Tyng, whose desendants in the female line are now residents of our city. Another daughter married a Harvey; was a widow in Boston in 1719. His son, Isaac, was living in Framingham in 1718. His widow, and granddaughter of George Cleeve, died in Boston, 1736, aged 92 years (Willis, pp. 139, 292), which would make her eighteen years of age at the time of her marriage. Thaddeus Clark was a military man of experience; and at the time of the attack upon Casco, was in his matured years. He certainly showed great bravery on that occasion, by leading, as it may be termed, a "forlorn hope" to attack the savages in their ambush on Munjoy Hill. His two daughters were carried away captives, but were returned. Mr. Willis' statement respecting his education must have been a mistake, for a letter of his in existence, describing the Indian attack on Casco, 1676, shows a great degree of intelligence, unusual at that time. (N. E. His. & Gen. Reg., 31, 289).

Parker and his son James.[1] They were the ancestors of the late distinguished jurist, Isaac Parker, of Mass. Thomas Cloice,[2] Seth Brackett,[3] son of Anthony. From Danvers were —— Alsop and Edward Crocker, and George Bogwell; a soldier from Lynn was named Joseph Ramsdell. Lieut. Lawrence, one of Casco's active men, was mortally wounded. But of the great majority of them their names will never be known except on the roll of the Archangel, when "his trump shall awake the dead to life."

The names of most of the prisoners who were carried to Canada have been preserved. There were Sarah and her sister, daughters of Lieut. Clark; Capt. Sylvanus Davis, Lieut. Anthony Brackett,

[1] Hon. J. H. Drummond has furnished me with the following, viz.: "John Parker was the second son of John Parker, "the fisherman," who came from Biddeford in England, and was in Saco in 1636, but went afterwards to Georgetown, and in 1650 bought Parker's Island of the Indians. The date of the fathers' death is unknown, but it was before July, 1661. The son, John, was born in Saco, according to tradition; he married, Aug. 20, 1660, Mary Fairfield, daughter of Daniel Fairfield, of Boston; he purchased of the Indians nearly all the territory that makes the present town of Phippsburg; other parties claimed, under other titles, and on July 15, 1684, Richard Wharton made an indenture with him, in which it was recited that John Parker "for twenty years past has been seized of lands between Kennebec river and Casco Bay, bounded on the north by Winnegance Creek," and by which Parker's land was conferred to him, in whole and in part. His son James was killed with him; his daughter Elizabeth, then unmarried, administered on his estate in 1700; he left another son, Daniel, the great-grandfather of Isaac Parker, the celebrated Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. According to the deposition of John Phillips, John Parker had three other daughters, but it is quite certain that he fell into the error of confounding another John Parker, who had three daughters, with this John Parker.

[2] Thomas Cloice was the son of John and Julian Cloice. He married Susannah, a dau. of Geo. Lewis. He had three children. (Willis, p. 292).

[3] Seth and Anthony Brackett were the sons of Anthony, who with his brother Thomas, were among the earliest settlers of Casco. They both came from Portsmouth, N. H., and occupied an important place in our former history. They are the ancestors of all of that name who reside with us. Anthony, the elder, was killed at the battle on his farm in 1689. Of the children by his first wife, Lieut. Anthony, was taken prisoner at the capture of Fort Loyall, and escaped in September following. He rendered the country very acceptable service during the war, and finally settled in Boston. Seth, the second son, was killed at the time of the capture of the fort. Thomas, the brother of the first Anthony, was killed by the Indians in 1676, and his family carried into captivity. (Willis, p. 290).

jr., James Ross,[2] Thomas Parker,[1] Peter Morrill, James Alexander, [3] Joshua Swanton (a boy), Samuel Yorke,[4] Samuel Souter, Thomas Baker (a boy), Hannah Wharton,[5] or Swarton, and George Gray.[1]

These were carried away by the French and Indians, and generally received good treatment from their captors. Some of them in years after were restored to their former homes and friends. Others could not resist the allurements of the Catholic church, became devotees to that religion, and remained in their new homes during their lives, and at their deaths, found their rest on the banks of that beautiful river of the north.

I was very fortunate in finding in the Secretary of State's office, Boston, the following paper, which has never been published, or I think ever referred to:

[HUTCHINSON'S PAPERS, VOL. 3, LEAF 401].

"A tru Relation giuen by Robert Watson Captaine before the Commanders of the souilders at Wells the 25 of May, 1690:

Consarning the maner of the taking and distroying of Casco bay.

That on friday morning being the 16 day of May now last Past one Robert Watson being wanting thare Isued out of seueriell garisons twenti six men in sarche of him of which 20 was killed in uery litell time. Imediately the enemi foute with the garison M^r Ingerson and stoutely resisted untill euening at which time the aminition being dun thay of the s^d garison Isued out and got to the

[1] "Among the names of English captives rescued by Mathew Cary at Quebec in Oct., 1695, were Jam^s Ross, Cascow, Jam^s Alexander do., Jos^ph Swarton boy, do. names of those Remaining still in the hands of the ffrench at Canada, Sam^ll York of Cascow, Sara Dauis Cascow, gerll, Tho^s. Baker boy, do. George Gray Do. Do." (N. E. His. and Gen. Reg., 24, 289).

[2] James Ross was born in Falmouth, 1662, son of James. He was taken prisoner with his father's family in 1676, and again in 1690 (at the capture of the fort). He was a shoemaker by trade, and occupied his father's farm at Back Cove. On his return from his second captivity he resided at Salem. He was living in Salem in 1724." (Willis, p. 298).

[3] John Gyles in the narrative of his captivity, speaks of meeting on the St. John's river a captive named James Alexander, a Jerseyman, who was taken at Falmouth. (Willis, p. 286).

[4] See statement of Samuel York, post.

[5] See Hannah Swarton's account of her captivity, post.

fort withe ondly the damage of one man wounded at which fort the enemi assalted all nite the 17 day in the morning m^r Laronce sent to Cap^t Dauis for supli of men which was refused with aduice giuen to s^d Larance that he shoulde Come to the forte whiche he did without the los of a man whare the enemi Continued thare assault untill *untill* munday morning at whiche time thay fired two houses which stood ueari neare the forte *and Continaied* and Continued thare assault untill tuesday untill 12 or one a Clicke at which time thay had brought to Perfection trenches oute of whiche thay put Burche rines withe fire arowes to the forte with sume furi and dilegence that thay within ware not able to resist and seing no other way but either yeild or end in the dredful flames treated withe the enemi and upon solum Protestations to them made that all the english thare should be safely Conducted without ani want of Prouision to Piscatoqua thay Pretended all was waste so far the forte was sorendered about thre oures before sunset which being dun these Profidious Promesers Imediately Captivated all and Caring them a litell way whare thay did after astrange and Cruell maner binde them to stackse in the grounde streched as though on racks the Cause of whiche is suposed by the approche of sume uesills Reseiud whiche thay lay all alonge the shore excepte the guarde on the Captiues whiche was aboute 500 the whole then being aboute 500: 300 Indians of which Hopehood was Ceinrell about 200 frenche of whiche one Burno (or Burns) Commander the number of Canews thay had about two hundred in sum of whiche the s^d Watson saw foure in sum th[illegible] the leaste two Indians besides the squaes the said Watson giues an acc^tt of aboute 40 Persons killed and 68 Captiuated of whiche Captiues there is 38 men was in the forte when surendred nine women and twenti Children.

The Enemi dothe yet Remaine
in wells make what haste you Can
for oure Incuragement.
yourse to sarve in what wee may
Sam^ll Wheelwright
John litelfield

Sam^ll Sherbon Cap^t
Shederike Waltin, Capt.
Joseph Storer[1]
Icobod Plaisted[2] Liutanants
Richr^d Brior

There is somewhat of a conflict of opinions as to how long the

[1] Joseph Storer was the son of Wm. Storer of Dover, and was born in 1648. He was actively engaged at Wells in the manufacture of lumber. He was commissioned a lieutenant, had command of a garrison, but was not called into any active service requiring his absence from the garrison. He married Hannah, dau. of Roger Hill of Saco, and had eight children He died in 1730. At the period of his death he was the wealthiest man in Wells, leaving an estate appraised at $5,000. (History of Wells, pp. 331, 333).

[2] Ichabod Plaisted, sixth son of Roger and Olive; was judge of Probate, 1716-15; married 5th of January, 1692, Mary, daughter of Christopher Jose, of Portsmouth, and had four children. He died at Piscataqua, 16th of Nov., 1715, in his 52d year. (Wentworth Gen., I, 298). W. M. S.

siege of Fort Loyall lasted. All the accounts, both French and English, that I have had access to, agree that it lasted five days and four nights. Capt. Davis says: "The 16th of May, 1690, about dawning began our fight, the 20th at 3 o'clock afternoon we were taken."

My friend, Wm. M. Sargent, Esq., has kindly furnished me with copies of some papers in reference to the capture of Casco and Fort Loyall, which he has found in the Massachusetts archives, and the following gives a somewhat different version from the statements of Capt. Davis and others:

"LETTER TO MAJOR VAUGHAN AT PORTSMOUTH.

SACO y^e 18^th May 1690.

Maj^r vahan or Maj^r davis.

Sr these with respects to you and to acquant you that yesterday Casco fort is taken and Burnd down: we have account pr 2 men went frome Spurwinks and saw it a fire we hard fight 2 days and nights.

Our hubble Request to you is to send vesselles to Carry of our women and children and what we have or else we perrish.

So I remain Your friend & St.

EDWARD SARGENT.[1]

and if possible men to asist us carry of our cattle.

(Mass. Archives, 36, p. 70).

[1] Edward Sargent, son and oldest child of John Sargent (mentioned below), born at Saco, 8th March, 1661; called "Captain R. D. C.," in 1690; was early entrusted with responsible positions by his fellow-townsmen; Dec. 3, 1681, was chosen to agree on a highway, with Cape Porpoise men; 21st May, 1688, was chosen Commissioner for Saco and Cape Porpoise. The date of the birth of his fourth child shows that he removed his wife and family to Portsmouth for safety, at the outbreak of the Second War, but himself remained at his post as captain of the fort at Saco, as is shown by the mention of him and his letter in New Eng. Hist. & Gen. Reg., V, 367; and Recorder, II, 139. The record and the date of his election is unfortunately lost with the other Saco records. After the war, he dwelt at Portsmouth, till his marriage with his second wife, the widow Bradstreet, gave occasion for his removal to Newbury, where he was living in 1721, when he sold his share of his father's estate at Winter Harbor. His will was dated Feb. 12, 1735-6, and probated Sept. 6, 1742. (Essex Prob. Office, 25-42.) John Sargent, father of the above Edward, first appears on record in 1658, calling himself "of the Isles of Shoals," from which it is inferred he was the son of that Stephen Sargent whose Inventory was there taken 29th Nov., 1649. In 1661, he had removed to Saco, where he had a land grant 1663, and where his four older children were born; in 1666, had seats assigned him and wife in the meeting house there; in 1668, constable; 1669, he purchased more land from William Phillips; 1674, 1680, 1682, 1684, select-

I have also to thank Mr. Sargent for another document from the same source; which, if a correct statement, shows that all the garrison houses were not abandoned at the beginning of the attack on Fort Loyall. This is a letter from Wm. Vaughan, of Portsmouth, viz.:

"PORTSM May 18 1690

Much Hon^ed

The Inclosed which I Just now rect. from Maj^or ffrost advising of the Enemies Assault upon Casco as pp information of Jonathan Clark (Inhabitant of Casco) who S^th y^t he went out of Piscataqua river in a shallop on ffriday Morning last bound for Casco bay where he discovered y^e Enemy & saw Eleven houses burning y^e Enemy disposing themselves in Sundry places & by their shouting and firing of Guns, bespoke them to be numerous. They were very Brisk in firing upon Engersons[1] Garrison who made so briske a Return continuing to fire on Each other as long as they were in sight, y^e Enemy Discovering their shallop came Down to a point of land to prevent those Landing & were so near them that their shot raked them. When they came to y^e Point w^th in ye shallop hearing they made 12 or 13 Cohoops intimating that they had killed so many persons. The shallop Seeing the Enemy Soe thick about & finding noe Sound Landing came away after they had been ab^t an hour in view of the place (Place) & Arrived at York last night, while they were w^th in sight they saw noe Guns fired at from the fort but heard one ——— Gun before they came in Sight & 3 more after they come away when they came off Spurwink river yesterday morning they saw a great smoke ffrom it. May be Jordans Garrison. Wee were hopefull at y^e return of Mess Hawthorn & Corum, y^t yo^r hon^rs would have been Satisfied y^t y^e fforces then in ye Eastern ppts had been

man; 1675 with others, was grantee of a plantation six miles square, above Saco; in 1677, he was dwelling on Great Island, Piscataqua river, a refugee in the first Indian war, and there his fifth child was probably born; in 1680, appointed by the Court, Lieutenant at Saco and Cape Porpoise; same year, an Inferior Magistrate; 1684, Representative to the General Assembly; July 3, 1686, Captain John Sargent chosen one of a committee of three to engage Rev. Mr. Milburn as minister, — and because of the loss of the Saco records, which are wanting, 1688-1717, the above is the last entry relating to Captain John, except the division of his estate long after his death, — unless Williamson (Hist. of Maine, I, 608), be correct in saying it was he who "arrested eighteen or twenty Indians on the warrant of Benjamin Blackman, in the fall of 1688, and carried them to Falmouth;" — but a comparison of dates and their respective ages, makes it much more probable that this officer was the son, Captain Edward.

W. M. S.

[1] Ingersoll garrison house, near the foot of now Exchange street.

small enough to have assisted the Inhabitants in their Defence Ag$^{t}$ ye Enemy & wood Dreded to think of the fearful consequences of their Drawing off. Wee also Humbly prayed by y$^{e}$ said Gent$^{n}$ to have some order about our Provinces ye out places whereof are as much Exposed to y$^{e}$ Enemy as anny others to which have as yet Recd no answer. As to what I Rote concerning y$^{e}$ The non observance of the order ye Embargo you may please to Know y$^{t}$ Mr. Graffort had a Pink & a Small Kebec[1] Sailed home ——— work for w$^{ch}$ I understand has brought ——— from ye Gouv$^{r}$ at Boston w$^{th}$ out which they had been stopt.

Your Honners Hum$^{ble}$ Servt.

WM VAUGHAN."

(Vol. 36, page 68, Mass. Archives).

This statement makes it appear that the garrison houses were defended by themselves separately from Fort Loyall, and in this it in part agrees with the account of Robert Watson.

The news of the capture of Fort Loyall and the destruction of Casco carried terror and dismay to all the exposed white settlements in Maine, New Hampshire and New York. The Massachusetts Colony found when too late at what a fearful cost they had neglected their own interests, and sacrificed the poor inhabitants at Falmouth. Letters poured in from all the towns in Maine and New Hampshire calling for protection, and urging immediate measures. The settlements in Maine were so abandoned that there were only the towns of Wells and Kittery left with a white population. The following letters showing the country's alarm at that time are to be found in the Massachusetts archives:

"KITTERY 18$^{th}$ of May: 1690

Maj$^{r}$ Vaughan

Sir. This morning came the barer to mee from Yorke who came in there Last night in a Shallop from Cascoe advising of the Eenemies Attaque upon Cascoe fryday Evening Last I haue sent the baror to you to give Account of what he knows there of which pray you to hasten away to the Governor & Councill myself Designing forthwith to dispatch a way the sd Shallop again to Cascoe with some Souldiers for their better defence to make a further discovrie of that matter

I Remaine

S$^{r}$ yo$^{r}$ Assured friend

c servant at Comand

CHARLES FFROST Majo$^{r}$."

(Vol. 36, p. 69, Mass. Archives).

[1] Kebec (Xebec) according to Webster's definition, a small three masted vessel, carrying lateen sails.

"PROVINCE OF MAYNE
1690 May the 18th day.

Major ffrost. Sir these are to inform you that the Indians & freinch hath taken Casco fort and it is to be feare: that all the people are killed & taken; therefore wee desire your company here with us to put us in a posture of Defense for we are in a very shattered Condition. Some are for removing and some are for staying Soe that we stand in great need of your assistance, if we stay we must have more assistance, & if we remove we must have help & assistance to gett away with what we have left not els. we Remayne your Servants.

Sam[l] Wheelwright
Joseph Storer
Jon[a]. Hammond.[1]"

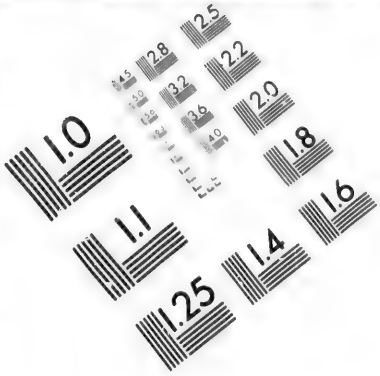
(Vol. 36, p. 70, Mass. Archives).

"Much Hon[d], PORTSM[o] May 19[th] 1690

yesterday advised you of the Enemy Assault upon Casco. About two o'clock this morning came a man from Saco through the woods w[th] the from the Coman[er] of the garrison there. he inform y[t] upon hearing of the guns from Casco two men went from Spurwink Garrison on Saturday to make what discovery they could & when they came near saw but two houses standing. The fort on fire and the enemy very numerous thereabout. Those of Spurwink & Black Point are got on board the sloops there in order to their remove, and those of Saco pray reliefe of vessels —— w[oh] we shall endeavor to send them. So yt wells is now y[e] frontier Eastward who must necessarily remove forthw[th] unless present relief be sent them & other the out places in both thare Provinces. Wee were amazed[2] at the order for drawing off the Soldiers in the Province of Mayne, after the gentlemen sent hither to inspect the state of those Provinces were satisfied that all yt all the fforts there was too little for there defence as too sad experience daly teacheth. And for this Province we have not had aboue 12 or 14 men by whose assistance wee have prevailed with the two Garrisons at Cocheco & and the out Garrison at Oyster River to stand their Grounds in hopes of more help instead where of yesterday arrived yo[r] order for their Dismission, w[oh] will occasion the quitting of there Garrisons and then all Dover will be lost. Soe I shall at present wait yo[r] further pleasure thereabout. The Enemy are now Powerful & prevalent & will carry all before them unless a

[1] Jonathan Hammond was the brother of Joseph Hammond before mentioned, (p. 59, ante). He was appointed sergeant in 1694, and lieutenant in 1703, 1709. He was killed and scalped in Queen Anne's war, near Jona. Littlefield's garrison. (His. of Wells, p. 233).

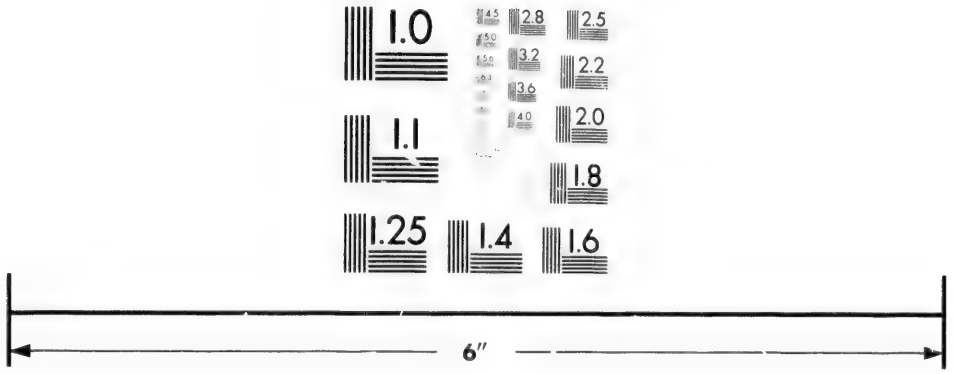
[2] So that the neglect of Massachusetts to defend its own people caused amazement at that time.

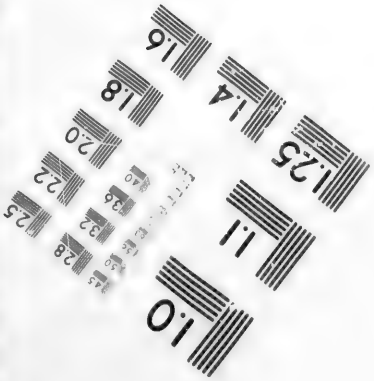


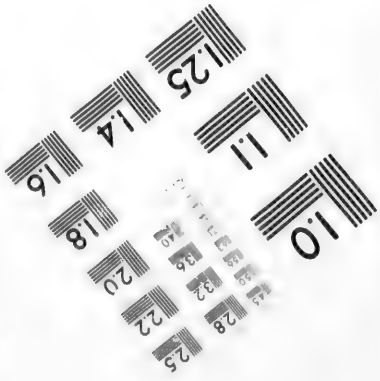




# IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)




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stop be put to their proceedings. So yt it will be doubtless necessary to resolve a stop some where & then to have a sufficient force to repell the enemy as well as in all out places yt are liable to their assaults: The Lord direct you in all yᵒʳ arduous affairs is the prayer of

Much honʳᵈ yoʳ humble Servts
Wᵐ. Vaughan
Charles ffrost
Richᵈ Martyn."

(Vol. 36, p. 71, Mass. Archives).

"Gent our sad Condition puts us vpon yoʳ charity. the enemy is now very near vs Sacoe is this day on fire. Wee expect them vpon us within a few hours or days at Least; and therefore wee humbly crave some assistants from you, that wee may be in some measure able to stand a few days if it be ye will of God till wee here from the Bay.[1] if we have not immediate help wee are a lost people: so we pray that our good God may move yoʳ harts to pitty vs, & bowing solely vpon the mercy of God now Subscribe ourselves yoʳ most humble and Greatly distressed servts.

Samˡˡ. Wheelwright
Jonª Hamond
John Wheelwright
Joseph Storer."

Wells yᵉ 22th May, 1690

(Vol. 36, p. 72, Mass. Archives).

"Portsmᵒ 22ᵗʰ 1690

Much Honᵈ.

On Tuesday about Eleaven oclock wee sent two sloops with about 50 men & 2 shallops[2] to make a full descovery of the State of Casco who arrived there yt evening about half an hour after sun sett, and returning hither this morning Say yt at their first appearance they heard the drum beat many hours in the heart of the Town, & Saw at least part of the fort standing, upon wᵉʰ one of their shallops went pretty near the shore, but tacking about again had a volley of small shot fired at him Supposed not less than 300 guns, & 3 great guns but did them no harm & then the enemy forthwith Sett the Fort or the remaining part of it, with sundry houses on fire. the next morning they went as nearly as they dared adventure with a sloop, but could make no further discovery, but the enemie burning the residue of the houses, so that all there is certainly destroyed & not one alive, but what is in the enemies hands: at

[1] Massachusetts Bay, as that Colony was generally called.

[2] These may have been considered by the French, vessels sent to the relief of Casco.

their return yesterday they saw Black point Spurwink Richmans Island et. burning so that nothing now remains eastward of Wells. Wee hope y^r^ Honors will at least see a necessity of giving a check to the progress of y^e^ Enemy by dispatching away —— considerable forces forthwith Otherwise their succes will —— more to pursoe their conquest till we are all overthrown. The Lord help you to pitty the distressed and send speedy —— w^ch^ we heartily beg who are

Hon^ble^ your humble Servts.

Here are 3 or 400 most women & children come in from Eastward this week who will perish unless assisted by the charity of others.

Charles ffrost
Nath^l^ ffryer [1]
Rich^d^ Martyn

Wells will desert if not forthwith reinforced."
(Vol. 36, p. 77, Mass. Archives).

The result of these appeals for assistance and protection was the following order of the Council:

BOSTON 23 May 1690

Att a Councill.

Present Simon Bradstreet Esqr Governo

John Richards, Samuel Shimplin, Samuel Sewall } Esq^e^

Tho: Danforth, James Russell, Elisha Hutchinson, John Phillips } Esqrs

Ordered that One Hundred and twenty Souldiers be forthwith detached out of the Regiments of Militia hereafter mentioned in proportion following vizt. Twenty five apiece out of the South and Middle Regiments of Essex Twenty three out of the Lower Regiment of Midd^x^ Twenty two out of Boston Regiment and twenty five out of the South Regiment of Suffolk the severall Majors of the aforesaid Regiments to order the detaching of their respective proportion

[1] Nathaniel Fryer was born in Boston; supposd to be the son of James of Cambridge, removed to Portsmouth, and lived at Great Island. He was a rep., councillor, judge of probate, and filled many other important offices. He left two daughters, Elizabeth, who married Judge Hinckes; Sarah, married Robert Elliot. He died August 13, 1705. (See N. H. His. Coll., VIII, 353). Councillor James Fryer was his eldest son. (Wentworth Gen., I, 103). At the attack on Richmond's Island, by the Indians, in Oct. 1676, a vessel was there from Portsmouth, belonging to Nathaniel Fryer, sent at the request of Walter Gendall, to preserve the property on the island. The vessel was driven on shore by the enemy, and the crew of eleven taken prisoners, among them was James Fryer, son of the owner, a young man of Portsmouth, who afterwards died of the wounds received in that engagement. (Willis, p. 211).

of Souldiers afores[d] well appointed with arms and ammunition to be forwarded with all speed to the relief and Succour of York and Wells.

By Order of the Governor & Councill.

ISA. ADDINGTON Secy

(Vol. 36, p. 76, Mass. Archives).

The following letter was also sent to Sir Wm. Phipps, by a sloop, hoping to intercept him on his way back from Nova Scotia:

LETTER TO SIR WM. PHIPPS.

Hon Sir

BOSTON May 23d 1690

We received yours yesterday by the hands of Capt[ne] Welch, bringing us the intelligence of the presence of God with you in giving you success, which we desire to acknowledge with hearty thankfulness as a smile of providence. But the solemn tidings of the loss of Casco give such an alloy to our rejoyceing as fixes sorrow in all faces, and prevents us in necessity of sending forth this small vessell in hopes that they may meet you on yor Return home in order you to call in at Casco with some of the shiping and souldjers under yor command to visit that place. And if advisable to land three hundred or more of your fforces there to seeke for and annoy the enemy ye endeavor a rescue of the captives. And to march home by land through the country; whereby you may possibly gain some advantage upon the enemy and will be refreshing and encouraging to the frontiers to stand their ground, while they are reinforced with more strength for which orders are given forth. Referring it to your[s]elf and council to advise upon and to give instructions to the most agreed methods to be taken for the ends above, with our service unto yo[r]selfe, and Gent[e] with you Command youe to God [1]

And are

Yor sincere ffriend & Servant

SIM BRADSTREET.

and to take the guns, and what else may be drawn off the place

By order [of] the Govern[r] and Councill

ISA ADDINGTON,

Sect

(Vol. 36, p. 78, Mass. Archives).

A letter from Samuel Sewall which is published in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collection, Vol. 5, 5th series, pp. 320,

[1] When it was too late the Massachusetts Government were awakened to the necessity of protecting the people of Maine.

321, shows the public feeling regarding the destruction of Casco at that time:

"BOSTON May 21, 1690

Hon^ble^ Sir—

The Express sent pr. your Honour was with me about 5 oclock this morning; But the Council being about to meet in the morn, delayed that might have the sence, and expected a greater certainty of the condition of Casco which yet fails; whose sitting proves so late that fear will be 4 past m^on^ before shall dismiss them. The General Court have ordered our Souldjers to be raised out of the several Regiments. Capt. James Converse is to command one company. They are to march next Tuesday, and rendezvous at Concord and Sudbury, and to march by land to Springfield, and so on to Albany intend to send meat by Sea, and take up on trust if it arrive not soon enough. Intend to send the 2d company with a Lieut, to Maj. Pynchon, and he appoint a captain. We think Capt. Converse may be fit to be the next Major. No news is yet received from Sir William (Phipps). Tis believed Casco Garrison and Fort are burnt, and the Inhabitants destroyed; so that we do not understand that there is one escaped or shut up or left. We fear if this be true there may be so many French and Indians that we shall be obliged to raise 4 or 5 hundred men to defend our Frontiers on that part. This disaster fell out on Friday and Satterday last. Four score Souldjers there. Capt. Willard came away the day before. This news comes by men sent by Dominicus Jordan's Garison, and a shallop that saw Houses on fire on Friday, and forced to come away without loading. Have some glimmering hope that the Fort is not burnt."

In his diary[1] under date of Friday, May 23d, he says: "Tis dolefull news we have to celebrate Mr Eliots funeral with. Casteen is said to head about 70 French, and Indians are about Two Hundred. Capt. Willard came away the day before the attack."

The forces that are referred to by the letter of Sewall were troops that were to be furnished by Massachusetts for the defense of New York in accordance with an agreement made with the commissioners of the colonies.[2] That was, — Massachusetts could

[1] Sewall's diary (Mass. His. Soc. Coll., V. 5th series, 321).

[2] Extract of a letter from Governor Leisler and council to the Earl of Shrewsbury: "That May 1, 1690, was concluded between us and the Gent^n^ commissionated for the colonies of Boston, Plymouth & Connecticut, that Boston should furnish 160 men, Plym.^o^ 60 & Connecticut 135, w^ch^ were joyned with 400 men of New York Province to march for Albany against the French at Canada." . . (N. Y. Col. Man., III, 751).

raise troops to be used for the defense of a sister colony, but she could spare none for the defense of her loyal subjects in Maine. The result of the capture of Fort Loyall was the countermand of the soldiers going to New York, as by the following letter:

GOVERNOR BRADSTREET TO JACOB LEISLER.[1]

"BOSTON May'30th 1690

Hono^ble S^r. According to y^e agreement made by y^e Comissioners of ye Colonies at their late meeting in yo^r City wee raised the number of Souldiers on our part to be Provided & Sent, but when they were on their march towards Springfield wee were forced to countermand them Speed them away to ye Eastward to defend their Maj^ties Subjects of the Province of Hampshire & Maine against ye incursions of ye enemy, who upon ye Sixteenth did attack those Posted at Casco Bay, Killed and Captured all y^e persons there men women & children. They fust surprised Six and twenty men who unwarily Issued out of ye garrison to look after a person that was missing of there. They killed twenty w^ch were near a third Parte of ye whole number of men. The Enemy then openly appeared before ye fort and assaulted it by ye space of five days & being about two hundred French & three hundred Indians they made there approaches in a Trench & Putt so hard to fire y^e fort by flaming Birch Rinds shott at it. that on ye fifth day they forced them to surrender before we could have intelegence to relieve them. The enemy are so flushed att this Success that they since have fallen on Welles, & Kittery in Piscataqua. Upon w^ch ye Inhabitants of or frontier towns are so alarmed, that we shall be obliged to dispatch four or five hundred horse & foott w^ch are mostly them already engaged in defending these parts and pursuing ye ennemy to there head quarters if possible. Nevertheless we have ordered about sixty men for Albany.[2]

Sir

Y^er Friends & Servt^s

SIMON BRADSTREET Gov^r in ye name of the Councill."

[1] Jacob Leisler, an American adventurer, who acted a prominent part in the New York Colony. He was born in Frankfort, came to America in 1660 as a soldier in the service of the Dutch West India Company. He engaged in the Indian trade and became wealthy. He was actively prominent in the political affairs of the Province; and in 1659 assumed the title and style of a royal lieutenant-governor and commander-in-chief. On the arrival of S^r Slaughter, who had been appointed governor in 1691, he was imprisoned, charged with treason and murder, and shortly after tried and executed." (American Cyclopedia, X, 330, 331).

[2] N. Y. Col. Man., II, 146.

Extract of a letter from Thomas Newton,[1] written from Boston to Capt. Nicholson, the 26th May, 1690:

"Worthy Sir.

Last week Casco was taken, wherein severall Garrisons were contained 80 souldiers, but were so quartered that upon the attack they could not relieve one another and were all destroyed and taken captives with the women and children saveing one man who was taken before the engagement, and then made his escape. It is reported since that York or Wells is taken, and to be much feared that the enemy will in a short time destroy all to ye Piscataqua, if not that too. *Our charter Governors little regarding that part of the country or the lives of so many of their* Majties subjects as have already been *destroyed, but mind smaller matters.*" . . . .

Referring to the capture of Port Royal by Sir Wm. Phipps, he says: "But we have already suffered greater loss by far at Casco, than we have gained at Port Royal."[2]

Mr. Livingston[3] to Lieut. Gov. Nicholson:[4] "The 160 men that Boston had raised to send us, who were upon their march were called back upon the news of Caskoe being taken."[5]

[1] Thomas Newton, secretary of the Province of Massachusetts, came from New Hampshire; is supposed to have been born Jan. 10, 1661; was secretary till 1690; was controller of the customs at Boston, judge of the admiralty, and attorney general in the witchcraft persecutions. His opinion must have led to the cure of the infernal delusion, for in January, 1693, he wrote to Sir Wm. Phipps, the governor, that of the fifty-two charged at Salem, that court, the three convicts should have been acquitted like the rest. He died May 28, 1721. (Savage, 3, 278).

[2] N. Y. Col. Man., III, 720, 721.

[3] Robert Livingston, first proprietor of the manor in Livingston in Columbia County, N. Y., was born at Ancram in Scotland, in 1654, and came to America in 1674. He filled numerous public offices, was secretary for Indian Affairs, member of the Executive Council, speaker of the Provincial Assembly, &c. He died about the year 1728. (N. Y. Col. Man., III, 401. See American Cyclopedia, X, 546).

[4] Capt. Francis Nicholson was appointed 20th April, 1688, lieutenant governor of New England, under Andros, of whom he was a strong partisan. At the time of the revolution against Andros he was forced to leave New York. In 1689, William III sent him a commission to continue in his office as lieutenant-governor. He was appointed governor of Virginia in 1690, and was succeeded by Andros. He then became governor of Maryland. He was appointed the chief commander of the expedition against Canada in 1708, and in 1710 re-captured Port Royal from the French. (N. Y. Col. Man., vols. 3, 4, 5, 9).

[5] N. Y. Col. Man., III, 727.

After the destruction of Casco, the French and Indians who were from Canada returned there, arriving at Quebec on June 23d. Castine, Madockawando, and the Penobscot Indians sought their forest homes, and their subsequent encounters with the whites were at places distant from Falmouth, which became the scene of no more engagements during the war.

In closing this part of the narrative of the capture of Fort Loyall, the statement of its brave commander, Sylvanus Davis,[1]

[1] This paper would be incomplete without some mention being made of this brave hero who was the commander of the devoted band who were sacrificed at the fall of Fort Loyall. The readers of these previous pages cannot but observe from the letters that he wrote during those dark days of trouble and which are for the first time published, the great care and responsibility which devolved upon him, and the spirit of patriotism and bravery exhibited. Deserted by Capt. Willard, and some of his men, who followed the example of their cowardly commander; his appeals to the government of Massachusetts being of no avail, he, in those last days of disaster and danger, did not quail or show any degree of pusillanimity, but manfully with the small force under him, fought to the last, and surrendered only in the last extremity. It is uncertain as to what family Sylvanus Davis belonged to or where he came from. The accompanying note of Mr. Sargent is the only information attainable. His first appearance in Maine that is known of was as a resident of Damariscotta or vicinity. In 1659 he purchased there lands of the Indians, and resided there for some years. He subsequently removed to Arrowsic Island on the Kennebec river, where he acted as agent for Clark and Lake, who were large proprietors there, and traded with the Indians. In King Philip's war the Indians in Maine commenced hostilities against the white settlements. August 14, 1676, they attacked Clark and Lake's establishment, and made themselves masters of the place. Several of the inmates were killed, and a large amount of property seized. Among those in the fortifications were Capt. Sylvanus Davis, who had just returned from a conference with the Indians at Teconnet (now Winslow), and Capt. Lake. When they found themselves overpowered, they endeavored with two others to escape in a boat. They were followed by four Indians. Captain Davis was wounded, but succeeded in making his escape. Capt. Lake was killed by a musket shot; his body was subsequently recovered and carried to Boston for burial. (Johnson's History of Bristol, &c.) Among the epitaphs in Copps Hill burying ground is the following: "Captain Thomas Lake, aged 61 years, an eminently faithful servant of God, and one of a public spirit, was perfidiously slain by ye Indians at Kennibec river, August ye. 14, 1676, and here interred the 13th of March following."

Being driven by the Indians from the Kennebec, Sylvanus Davis came to Falmouth, then being resettled under the direction of President Danforth, and became one of its most enterprising and public spirited citizens. In 1680 he had a lot of land granted to him by Danforth on Thames (now Fore street), This location may be seen on the accompanying plan. The lot was 147 x 630 feet, and run back to the burying ground. On this lot he built a store and residence in one building. A plan of this lot and a drawing of the building is to be seen in the Mass. archives. In 1687 he was licensed to retail liquors out of doors in the town of Falmouth, paying duties and imposts therefor. Grants of lands in various parts of the town were made to him and his partner, James English, at Capisic and Long Creek, and saw mills were there built, from

will be found of interest. It is to be found entire in the Mass. His. Soc. Coll., Vol. I, Third Series, pp. 101-112. Want of space will not allow the whole of it to be here printed, but I have made such extracts from it as pertain to this subject and matters therewith connected:

*The declaration of Sylvanus Davis, Inhabitant of the Town of Falmouth in the Province of Maine, in New England, concerning the cruel, treacherous and barbarous Management of a War against the English in the Eastern Parts of New England, by the cruel Indians, being, as I doubt not, and as the Circumstances will appear, set upon their bloody Design by the French and their Abettors.*

"Having the liberty of walking the town of Quebeck, and having opportunity

which the town derived benefit. Little Chebeague Island was also granted to Davis, and under his title it is held to the present day. Davis with Tyng and others made themselves odious to the people by their sympathy with Gov. Andros, and (as was considered) his arbitrary acts in the granting of lands, &c. Davis was in favor with and had great influence with the governor, although after his deposition he was steadfast in his loyalty to the Massachusetts government.

After Davis' return from captivity he removed to Massachusetts, and spent the remainder of his life at Hull, where he died in 1703. On the return of Sir Wm. Phipps with the new charter in 1692, Sylvanus Davis was appointed a councillor for Sagadahock. Most of the real estate owned by him in Falmouth was sold by his legatees to Gen. Samuel Waldo, under which title it is now held. (See N. Y. Col. Man., IX, 489; Me. His. Soc. Coll., I, 168; Willis, p. 293).

"As to the origin and family connection of Capt. Sylvanus Davis, the theory is advanced with a proper caution, that he, Sylvanus, George Davie (1663), of Wiscasset, and William Davis, of Negwassett (whose widow Margaret had, before 1661, married Richard Potts), were the three elder brothers of that Humphrey Davie, who bought largely on the Kennebec, as early as 1667, and who is shown by the painstaking research of W. H. Whitmore, Esq. (Boston Com. Rep. v, 55), to have been the fourth son of Sir John Davie, of Creedy, County Devonshire, England. John, the son of this Humphrey, in 1706, on default of issue of some of his uncles, and the death of that of others, was possessed of the family honors and estates in England.

The Will of our Sylvanus Davis, merchant, dated at Nantasket (Hull, Mass.) April 8th, 1703, proved May 6, 1703, shows that he had no children living at that time; devises his dwelling house which he lately built at Nantasket to his wife during her life; and in consideration of the intimacy and kindness between himself and James English, a great part of my life, bequeaths to the three daughters of said English, all my quarter part of lands lying in Casco Bay, which was held in equal shares by Col. John Phillips, Mr. Endicott, and said James English; nominates John Nelson ('in whose service and employment several of the latter years of my life have been spent'), sole Executor; 'and whereas I have in the whole course of my life been assisting and beneficial unto my friends and relations'; leaves to his sole disposal, care and arrangement of all his estate, 'depending upon his promise not only of Justice, but of kindness to my dear wife.'"

W. M. S.

of conferring with the gentlemen of the place, many were the outrages and insultings of the Indians upon the English (whilst Sir Edmund Andros was governor) at North Yarmouth, and other places at the eastward. The Indians killed sundry cattle, came into houses and threatened to knock the people on the head, and at several times gave out reports, that they would make war upon the English and that they were animated so to do by the French, the Indians behaving themselves so insulting, gave just cause of great suspicion. In order for the finding out the truth, and to endeavour the preventing a war, one Captain Blackman, a justice of peace, with some of the neighbourhood of Saco River, seized several Indians that had been bloody, murderous rogues in the first Indian war, being the chief ringleaders and most fittest and capable to do mischief. Said Blackman seized to the number of between sixteen and twenty, in order for their examination, and to bring in the rest to a treaty. Said Blackman soon sent the said Indians with a guard to Falmouth in Casco Bay, there to be secured until orders could come from Boston concerning them; and in the mean time the said Indians were well provided with provisions and suitable necessaries. The rest of the Indians robbed the English and took some English prisoners. Whereupon post was sent to Boston. Sir Edmond Andross being at New York, the gentlemen of Boston sent to Falmouth some soldiers for the defence of the country, and also the worshipful Mr. Stoughton, with others, to treat with the Indians, in order for the settling a peace and getting in of our English captives. As soon as the said gentlemen arrived at the eastward, they sent away one of the Indian prisoners to the rest of the Indians, to summon them to bring in the English they had taken, and also that their sachems should come in to treat with the English in order that just satisfaction should be made on both sides. The gentlemen waited the return of the Indian messenger, and when he returned he brought answer, that they would meet our English at a place called Maquoite, and there they would bring in the English captives, and treat with the English. Although the place appointed by the Indians for the meeting was some leagues distant from Falmouth, yet our English gentlemen did condescend to it in hopes of getting in our captives, and put a stop to further troubles. They despatched away to the place, and carried the Indian prisoners with them, and staid at the place appointed, expecting the coming of the Indians that had promised a meeting, but they, like false, perfidious rogues, did not appear. Without doubt, they had been counselled what to do by the French and their abettors, as the Indians did declare afterwards that they were near the place, and to our English that was to treat with them, but would not show themselves, but did endeavour to take an opportunity to destroy our English that was to treat with them. Such hath been and was their treachery. Our gentlemen staid days to wait their coming, but seeing they did not appear at the place appointed, they returned to Falmouth, and brought the Indian prisoners, expecting that the other Indians would have sent

down some reason why they did not appear at the place appointed, and to make some excuse for themselves; but instead of any compliances, they fell upon North Yarmouth, and there killed several of our English, whereupon the eastern parts was ordered to get into garrisons, and to be upon their guard until further orders from Sir Edmond Andross, and that the Indian prisoners should be sent to Boston, which was done with great care, not one of them hurt, and care took daily for them for provisions. When they arrived at Boston, the gentlemen there can give an account of their usage; but Sir Edmond Andross, returning from New York, he set them all at liberty, not so much as taking care to redeem those of our English for them that was in their hands. I had kept one at Falmouth a prisoner, and to be a guide into the woods for our English to find out the haunts of our heathen enemies; but Sir Edmond Andross sends an express unto me, that upon my utmost peril I should set the said Indian at liberty, and take care that all the arms that was taken from him, and all the rest of those Captain Blackman had seized, should be delivered up to them without any orders to receive the like of ours from them, which was very strange that a governour should be so careless of his majesty's subjects and interest. The names of those Indians that were in custody, that Sir Edmond Andross released, were Hopegood, the Higuers, the Doneyes and others, all being cruel, murderous rogues in the first Indian war, and so proved all along in this last war, being often passing through the country unto the French. The Indians daily making destruction upon our English, Sir Edmond Andross raised forces and marched through the country to the eastward. In his march he did rebuke the officers because they did get together into garrisons to defend themselves. How he managed his affairs, and what measures he did take with his instruments to impoverish this country, and with other nations to bring us to our wooden shoes, I leave to the information of those that took a more particular account; but it pleased God, upon the happy change in England, the hearts of God's people were stirred up to adventure for the like change amongst us, and seized the instruments of our miseries, taking the government into their hands, and accordingly did endeavour to their power for the defence of the country against the common enemy, the heathen, and French, who joined with them in cruel, barbarous manner, burning our towns, destroying their majesties' subjects with fire and sword, and all cruelty imaginable. Myself having command of a garrison in Falmouth for the defence of the same, a party of French from Canada, joined with a company of Indians, to the number of betwixt four or five hundred French and Indians, set upon our fort. The 16th of May 1690, about dawning, began our fight; the 20th, about 3 o'clock, afternoon, we were taken. They fought us five days and four nights, in which time they killed and wounded the greatest part of our men, burned all the houses, and at last we were forced to have a parley with them, in order for a surrender. We not knowing that

there was any French among them, we set up a flag of truce in order for a parley. We demanded if there were any French amongst them, and if they would give us quarter. They answered, that they were Frenchmen, and that they would give us good quarter. Upon this answer, we sent out to them again, to know from whence they came, and if they would give us good quarter, both for our men, women and children, both wounded and sound, and that we should have liberty to march to the next English town, and have a guard for our defence and safety unto the next English town — then we would surrender; and also that the governour of the French should hold up his hand, and swear by the great and ever-living God, that the several articles should be performed. All which he did solemnly swear to perform; but as soon as they had us in their custody, they broke their articles, suffered our women and children and our men to be made captives in the hands of the heathen, to be cruelly murdered and destroyed, many of them, and especially our wounded men; only the French kept myself and three or four more, and carried us over land for Canada. I did desire the French, that seeing they would make us captives, that they would carry us all for Canada, or keep us together, and that I might have the liberty to send to Boston to the governour and councill, in order that care might be taken for our ransom; but they would not hear to any such terms, but told me that we were all rebels, and also Boston, against our king, in that we had proclaimed William and Mary king and queen, and that they were usurpers to the crown; and that they did fight for King James, as being under protection of the French king. About twenty-four days we were marching through the country for Quebeck in Canada, by land and water, carrying our canoes with us. The chief of the Indians that came against us was those Indians that we had in hold, that Sir Edmond Andross ordered to be cleared, Sieur Castine and Madockawando, with their eastern forces. The French that took us came from Canada, in February last past, designed for the destruction of Falmouth, by order from the governour there, the Earl of Frontenack. The commander's name was Monsieur Burniffe; his lieutenant's name Monsieur Corte de March, who was at the taking of Schenectade. They brought several Indians with them from Canada, and made up the rest of their forces as they marched through the woods from Canada. But I must say, they were kind to me in my travels through the country. Our provisions was very short — Indian corns and acorns — hunger made it very good, and God gave it strength to nourish. I arrived at Quebeck the 14th of June, 1690,[1] where I was civily treated by the gentry, and was soon carried to the fort before the governour, the Earl of Frontenack. He received me civilly, and discoursed with me, viz.....He told me that our new English at New York was the cause of

[1] The French date of arrival was 23 June, according to the new style, or within one day of it. (See p. 77, ante). The English date was the old style.

the war in this country betwixt the French and English; for the governour of New York had hired the New York Indians to come over land, took and killed their people, and destroyed their country; and they were willing to pass it by, rather than to make a war with the English; but still they did continue, and hired the Indians to burn several of their people, that they had taken, which was a most cruel thing for one Christian to do to another, and that they would do no such cruel practice. I told them that New York and Boston was two distinct governments, and that the governour of New York must give a particular account to our king for his actions, each for himself. He said we were one nation. I told him it was true, but two distinct governments. Also I told him, that the last Indian war we had a friendly commerce with the French, and for ought I know it might have been so still, had not they joined with the Indians and come over into our country, destroying our towns and people; and that the governour of Boston had only raised forts to defend their majesties' subjects and interests against the heathen, and had not moved out our own bounds, but being forced thereunto by their joining with the Indians for the destruction of our country. He said we were all rebels against our king, in proclaiming the Prince of Orange to be our king, and he was but an usurper, and that King James was our king, and the king of France was his protector. In brief, they told me if the government had not been changed, and that Sir Edmond Andross had continued governour, we should have had no wars betwixt us, but we should have been all as one people, which I do believe there was a popish design against the Protestant interest in New England, as in other parts of the world. I told him that the condition was with us, viz. We were upon our guard in our towns, for the defence of our wives and children and country, and that little estate that God had given us, against a heathen, barbarous enemy, and they that had joined with them. And I said that they were like robbers that meet with honest men upon the highway, who fight to save their money, and when they are not able to defend themselves any longer, they beg for quarter, and gladly deliver their purse to preserve their lives, which is promised; but as soon as the purse is delivered, the robbers cut the poor men's throats. This is our condition; for we were promised good quarter, and a guide to conduct us to our English; but now we are made captives, slaves and prisoners in the hands of the heathen. I thought I had to do with Christians, that would have been careful of their engagements, and not to violate and break their oaths. Whereupon the governour shaked his head, and, as I was told, was very angry with Burniffe. The governour bid me be *corag'd*—I should be used well. I thanked him, and told him I did not value for myself, but did grieve for the rest of the captives that were in the hands of the Indians. He said that he would take care that all that was taken with me should be got out of the hands of the Indians; for they did look upon us under another circumstance than those that

had been stirring up the Indians against them. I was very kindly used whilst my abode was at Quebeck; and also several captives that was taken with me, that the Indians brought in, the French bought them and were kind to them. I was at Quebeck four months, and was exchanged for a Frenchman Sir William Phips had taken, the 15th of October, 1690. . . . . ,

Capt. Davis, after his return to Boston, presented a petition to the General Court for compensation. The document is on file in the Massachusetts archives, and for the information concerning it I am indebted to Mr. Sargent.

"Petition from Sylvanus Davis, Dec. 10th & 22d, 1690, that he served at Casco from April 23d, 1689, when orders were sent to Col. Edward Tyng, Maj. Savage and himself to take possession until the time that the fort was taken, May 20, 1690, by the French & heathen. that I was commander in chief of the Fort and town, also acted as surgion 11 months & 13 months comr, 11 months surgion, 4 months commissary — also compensation for Wm. Parker (? Baker) who had been a soldier for ten months and was now in captivity."

February 23, 1690-91, he files another petition referring to the former one. From the Court Records, 6, 3, the date of Davis' appointment as commissioner of Fort Loyall is April 20, 1689.

The exchange of Captain Davis at Quebec was in this wise: After the repulse of Sir Wm. Phipps in the attempt to capture Quebec in October, 1690, the fleet prepared to return to Boston. The vessels had dropped down the river to a point nine miles below Quebec. We quote from the letter of M. de Monseignat to Mde. de Maintenon, Paris Documents:[1]

"Miss de La Land, who was a prisoner on board the admiral's ship, seeing that they were about to return home, inquired of the general, through an interpreter, if he wanted to take her along and abandon a number of his countrymen, who were prisoners at Quebec, if an exchange was proposed, she hoped such negotiation might succeed. She, herself, was sent on parole to make the proposal. The Count (Frontenac) readily consented, being very glad to receive

[1] N. Y. Col. Man., IX, 489,

her and her maid. Sieur de Grandville [1] and Sieur Trouve,[2] a priest who had been taken at Port Royal, and had been brought hither with others from Acadia, expecting that he would be very useful after the capture of the country. In the evening she returned greatly elated on board the admiral's ship. The English prisoners we wished to restore were mustered that very night; they consisted mostly of women and children, and none of any consideration except Captain Davys the commander of the fort which Sieur de Portneuf took. There were besides, his lieutenant's two daughters (Lieut. T. Clark), who appeared very well bred. The Count had ransomed them from the Indians, and put them to board. Another girl [3] of 9 or 10 years of age, who was somewhat

[1] Sieur de Grandville served with distinction as one of the French commanders at the conquest of the Iroquois Indians in 1687. At the attack upon Quebec by Sir Wm. Phipps in October, 1690, he was sent to obtain intelligence and was taken prisoner. (N. Y. Col. Man., IV, IX).

[2] M. Trouve was a French missionary who was captured at Port Royal the May previous by Sir Wm. Phipps. The priest's residence was plundered and desecrated. He was carried to Boston, and when the fleet sailed for Quebec in Oct., 1690, he was taken with the expedition to act as an interpreter and to be useful. (N. Y. Col. Man., IX, 475, 493).

[3] Sarah Gerrish was the daughter of John Gerrish of Dover, and a granddaughter of Major Richard Waldron, with whom she resided. Her mother's name was Elizabeth, and she was a daughter of Maj. Waldron by his second wife, Annie Scamman. Quocheco (Dover) was attacked by the Indians on the night of the 27th June, 1689. The garrison house where Maj. Waldron and his family lived was taken by strategem, and most of the inmates, including Major Waldron, killed. Among the captives taken was Sarah Gerrish, who was a remarkably fine child of seven years. She was an inmate of Major Waldron's house that fatal night. "Some circumstances concerning her captivity are truly affecting. When she was awakened by the noise of the Indians in the house, she crept into another bed and hid herself under the clothes to escape their search. After she was taken a prisoner in company with other captives, she remained in their hands till the next winter wandering through the forests, and was sold from one to another several times. An Indian girl once pushed her into the river, but catching by the bushes she escaped drowning, yet durst not tell how she came to be wet. Once she was so weary with traveling that she laid down at night and did not awaken till morning, till the Indians were gone, and then she found herself alone in the woods covered with snow, and without any food; having found their tracks she went crying after them, till they heard her and took her with them. At one time they kindled a great fire and the young Indians told her she was to be roasted. She burst into tears, threw her arms around her master's neck, and begged him to save her, which he promised to do if she would behave well. At length having arrived with her owners at Quebec, she was bought by the Intendant's lady who treated her courteously and sent her to a nunnery for education. It was the design as was said to have her brought up in the Romish religion, and then have her married unto the son of the Lord Intendant. She was kindly used there until Sir William Phipps lying before Quebec, did, upon exchange of prisoners, obtain her liberty. After sixteen months of captivity she was restored unto her friends, who had the consolation of having this desirable daughter again with them, returned from the dead; but coming to be sixteen years old, in the month of July, 1697, death by a malignant fever more irrecoverably took her from them." (See His. of N. H., I, 203; Mather, II, p. 592).

well looking had been ransomed by the Intendants lady who felt considerable pain at her surrender, yet nevertheless submitted for the public good.

They amounted to eighteen in all. M. de Valliere[1] was entrusted to make the exchange. He proceeded by land on Wednesday morning to the place opposite where the English were moored. The negotiations continued throughout the day. A chaplain had come ashore, and means were found to detain him in consequence of the difficulties which were thrown in the way of the surrender of M. Trouve. Finally the exchange was completed in good faith, but we had greatly the advantage in it, since in return for children we received adult men, fit for service, and the number of French exceeded that of the English. They detained two of our French pilots which they promised to land ashore after passing the dangers of the river."

In a letter from the governor (Frontenac) to the minister, dated Nov. 12, 1690,[2] concerning this exchange, he says:

"But to return to the English. When they anchored at *L'arbre* sec. Miss de la Lande,[3] who was one of those who had been taken in the bark which the enemy had met, proposed to General Phips to demand an exchange. He agreed and sent her to ascertain if I would listen to the proposition. As it came from them I considered I ought not to reject it, being, besides, very glad to recover principally Sieur de Grandville who had been despatched before my arrival by order of Sieur de Prevost,[4] the mayor of Quebec, to reconnoitre the enemy, and and an ecclesiastic called M. Trouve whom they took at Port Royal, and whom they had brought along with them, with what view he could not divine. I com-

[1] Sieur de la Valliere was one of Canada's most trusted officers. He was sent on missions to New York, and as an envoy to the Earl of Belmont in reference to the exchange of prisoners in 1700. He was at this time (1690) the captain of Frontenac's guards. (N. Y. Col. Man).

[2] N. Y. Col. Man., IX, 461.

[3] Sir Wm. Phipps captured at Tadoussac (30 miles from Quebec) a vessel having on board Madame Lalande and Madame Joliet, the wife and the mother-in-law of the discoverer of the Mississippi. (Parkman's New France, page 263). The demoiselle Lalande referred to (captured by the English below Quebec), was in all probability Elizabeth Perrin, wife of John Lalande. She spoke English, as her early life was spent in New York, where she was baptized in Dongan's time by one of the English Jesuits, whom he had brought over. See Tanguay Dictionnaire Genealogique, pp. 339, 493 (Charlevoix, Shea's Ed., VI, 128).

[4] M. de Prevost was in 1687 the commander at Montreal; in 1690, mayor of Quebec. He heard of the expedition of Sir Wm. Phipps against Canada from a fleet Indian runner, who had been sent through the woods to Quebec. He notified Frontenac at Montreal, and preparations were made for the defense. In 1692 he was the lieutenant governor of Quebec. (N. Y. Col. Man., IX, 169, 340, 482, 570).

missioned Sieur de la Valliere, captain of my guards, to effect this exchange, of which duty he acquitted himself so well that we have had more French restored than the English. The latter consisted only of women, girls and children, except Capt. Davis who had been taken by Sieur de Portneuf, the latter had to be exchanged for Sieur de Grandville; and in order to have our Priest, who would never have been restored had not Sieur de la Valliere induced this General's principal Chaplain to come to negotiate with him, and declared to him that he would carry him to Quebec, if they refused to exchange Sieur Trouve for a little girl whom the Intendant's lady had bought of the Indians and whom she offered to give up."

Another prisoner, Hannah Swarton,[1] has put upon record a long account of her captivity, which is published in full in Mather's Magnalia, II, 357, and of which some extracts are made:

*A narrative of Hannah Swarton, containing wonderful passages relating to her captivity and deliverance.*

"I was taken by the Indians when Casco fort was taken (May, 1690); my husband being slain, and four children taken with me. The eldest of my sons they kill'd about two months after I was taken, and the rest scatter'd from me. I was now left a widow, and as bereav'd of my children; though I had them alive, yet it was very seldom I could see 'em, and I had not liberty to discourse with 'em without danger either of my own life or theirs; for our condoling each other's condition, and shewing natural affection, was so displeasing to our Indian rulers, unto whose share we fell, that they would threaten to kill us, if we cry'd each to other, or discoursed much together. So that my condition was like what the Lord threatened the Jews in Ezek. xxiv. 22, 23. We durst not *mourn* or *weep* in the sight of our enemies, lest we lost our own lives. For the first times, while the enemy feasted on our English provisions, I might have had some with them; but then I was so fill'd with sorrow and tears, that I had little stomach to eat; and when my stomach was come, our English food was spent; the Indians wanted themselves, and we more; so that then I was pin'd with want. We had no corn or bread; but sometimes groundnutts, acorns, purslain, hogweed, weeds, roots, and sometimes dog's flesh, but not sufficient to satisfie hunger with these; having but little at a time. We had no success at hunting;

[1] Hannah Swarton was wife of John Swarton, whose original petition, dated June 16, 1687, is preserved among the Mass. archives (126-358), in which he states that he had formerly served King Charles II in the wars in Flanders under the command of Colonel Marloe, and elsewhere; living now at Beverly with his wife and children, but being destitute of land had lately taken a journey to North Yarmouth where he was promised a vacant ten-acre lot by Captain [Walter] Gendall, provided he should obtain an order from the governor, for which he humbly prays. His widow Hannah afterwards claims sixty acres at that place. I find the names of their children, Jesp$^{r}$, Johana and Mary, occurring among the Canada captives. W. M. S.

save that one bear was killed, which I had part of; and a very small part of a turtle I had another time, and once an Indian gave me a piece of a moose's liver, which was a sweet morsel to me; and fish if we could catch it. Thus I continued with them, hurry'd up and down the wilderness, from May 20 till the middle of February; carrying continually a great burden in our travels; and I must go their pace, or else be killed presently; and yet was pinch'd with cold for want of clothing, being put by them into an Indian dress, with a sleight blanket, no stockins, and but one pair of Indian shoes, and of their leather stockins for the winter: my feet were pricked with sharp stones and prickly bushes sometimes, and other times pinch'd with snow, cold, and ice, that I travell'd upon, ready to be frozen, and faint for want of food; so that many times I thought I could go no further, but must lie down, and if they would kill me, let 'em kill me. Yet then the Lord did so renew my strength, that I went on still further as my master would have me, and held out with them. Though many English were taken, and I was brought to some of 'em at times, while we were about Casco bay and Kennebec river, yet at Norridgewock we were separated, and no English were in our company, but one John York and myself, who were both almost starv'd for want; and yet told that if we could not hold up to travel with them, they would kill us. And accordingly John York, growing weak by his wants, they killed him, and threatened me with the like. One time my Indian mistress and I were left alone, while the rest went to look for eels; and they left us no food from Sabbath-day morning till the next Saturday; save that we had a bladder (of Moose, I think) which was well fill'd with maggots, and we boil'd it, and drank the broth; but the bladder was so tough we could not eat it. On the Saturday I was sent by my mistress to that part of the island most likely to see some canoo, and there to make fire and smoke, to invite some Indians, if I could spie any, to come to relieve us; and I espy'd a canoo, and by signs invited them to come to shore. It proved to be squaws; who, understanding our wants, one of 'em gave me a roasted eel; which I eat, and it seem'd unto me the most savoury food I ever tasted before. Sometimes we liv'd on wortle berries, sometimes on a kind of wild cherry, which grew on bushes, which I was sent to gather once in so bitter a cold season, that I was not able to bring my fingers together to hold them fast; yet under all these hardships the Lord kept me from any sickness, or such weakness as to disenable me from travelling when they put us upon it.

My Indian mistress was one that had been bred by the English at Blackpoint, and now married to a Canadian Indian, and turned Papist; and she would say, 'that had the *English* been as careful to instruct her in our religion as the *French* were to instruct her in theirs, she might have been of our religion;' and she would say, that 'God delivered us into their hands to punish us for our sins;' and this I knew was true as to myself. And as I desired to consider of

all my sins, for which the Lord did punish me, so this lay very heavy upon my spirit many a time, that I had left the publick worship and ordinances of God, where I formerly lived, (viz: at Beverley), to remove to the north part of Casco bay, where there was no church or minister of the gospel; and this we did for large accommodations in the world, thereby exposing our children to be bred ignorantly like Indians, and ourselves to forget that what we had been formerly instructed in; and so we turned our backs upon God's ordinances to get this world's goods. But now God hath stript me of these things also; so that I might justifie the Lord in all that has befallen me, and acknowledge that he hath punish'd me less than my iniquities deserved. I was now bereav'd of husband, children, friends, neighbors, house, estate, bread, cloaths, or lodging suitable; and my very life did hang daily in doubt, being continually in danger of being kill'd by the Indians, or pined to death with famine, or tired to death with hard travelling, or pinch'd with cold till I died, in the winter season. . .

I travell'd over steep and hideous mountains one while, and another while over swamps and thickets of fallen trees, lying one, two, three foot from the ground, which I have stepp'd on from one to another, nigh a thousand in a day, carrying a great burden on my back. Yet I dreaded going to Canada, for fear lest I should be overcome by them to yield to their religion; which I had vowed unto God, that *I would not do*. But the extremity of my sufferings were such, that at length I was willing to go to preserve my life. And after many weary journies tho' frost and snow, we came to Canada about the middle of February, 1690, and travelling over the river, my master pitched his wigwam in sight of some French houses westward of us, and then sent me to those houses to beg victuals for them; which I did, and found the French very kind to me, giving me beef, and pork, and bread, which I had been without near nine months before; so that I found a great change as to diet. But the snow being knee-deep, and my legs and hams very sore, I found it very tedious to travel; and my sores bled; so that as I travell'd, I might be track'd by my blood that I left behind me on the snow. I asked leave to stay all night with the French when I went to beg again, which my master consented unto, and sent me eastward, to houses which were toward Quebec (though then I knew it not:) so, having begg'd provisions at a French house, and it being near night, after I was refresh'd myself, and had food to carry to the Indians, I signified, as well as I could, to make the French woman understand that I desir'd to stay by her fire that night. Whereupon she laid a good bed on the floor, and good coverings for me, and there I lodg'd comfortably; and the next morning, when I had breakfasted with the family, and the men-kind were gone abroad, as I was about to go to my Indian master, the French woman stept out, and left me alone in her house; and I then staid her return, to give her thanks for her kindness; and while I waited, came in two men, and one of 'em spoke to me in English,

"I am glad to see you countrey woman!" This was exceedingly reviving to hear the voice of an Englishman, and upon inquiry I found that he was taken at the North-west Passage; and the other was a French ordinary-keeper. After some discourse, he ask'd me to go with him to Quebeck, which he told me was about four miles off: I answered, my Indian master might kill me for it when I went back. Then, after some discourse in French with his fellow-traveller, he said, this French man engag'd that, if I would go with them, he would keep me from returning to the Indians, and I should be ransom'd: and my French hostess, being now return'd in a-doors, perswaded me to go with 'em to Quebeck; which I did, and was convey'd unto the house of the lord-intendant, Monsieur le Tonant, who was chief judge, and the second to the governour; and I was kindly entertain'd by the lady; and had French cloaths given me, with good diet and lodging, and was carry'd thence unto the hospital, where I was physick'd and blooded, and very courteously provided for. And some time after my Indian master and mistress coming for me, the lady intendant paid a ransom for me, and I became her servant. And, I must speak it to the honour of the French, they were exceeding kind to me at first; even as kind as I could expect to find the English; so that I wanted nothing for my bodily comfort which they could help me unto. . . . . .

The means of my deliverance were by reason of letters that had passed between the governments of New-England and of Canada. Mr. Cary was sent with a vessel to fetch captives from Quebec, and when he came, I, among others, with my youngest son, had our liberty to come away; and by God's blessing upon us we arrived in safety at Boston, in November, 1695, our desired heaven. And I desire to praise the 'Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to me.' Yet still I have left behind two children; a daughter of twenty years old, at Mount Royal, whom I had not seen in two years before I came away; and a son of nineteen years old, whom I never saw since we parted, the next morning after we were taken. I earnestly request the prayers of my Christian friends that the Lord will deliver them.

'*What shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits?*'"

In 1695 the governor and council of Massachusetts Bay commissioned Matthew Cary[1] to go to Canada to bring home pris-

[1] "Mathew Cary, now in Boston, Purser of their Majties Shipp Nonesuch" had a grant of land in Boston, from John Adams, March 9, 1693-4, Jan. 5, 1696. Mathew Cary and Mary his wife gave to Andrew Belcher a mortgage which was cancelled Jan. 24, 1698. Mr. Cary is there styled, "late Purser," etc. On the 4th of the same month (1696) he is called in the mortgage to Francis Foxcroft, "a Gentleman." This latter document was cancelled May 11, 1700. After which we can learn nothing of Mathew Cary, who was doubtless the individual that effected the exchange of prisoners in Canada, in 1695. Suffolk Registry of Deeds, XVI. 306, XVII. 345, XIX. 66. (N. E. His. & Gen. Reg. 24, 425.)

oners who had been captured by French and Indians in the wars previous. Count Frontenac, the governor-general of Canada, had agreed to return such captives. Among them were those taken at the capture of Fort Loyall in 1690.

"At a council held at the council chamber in Boston upon Thursday, July 14, 1695,[1] Advised and ordered that the Commissioner of war do take up a suitable vessel to be sent with a Flagg of Truce unto Canada for the exchanging and bringing home the English prisoners there." The commissioner proceeded in this vessel to Quebec, and returned to Boston with those who were redeemed by him.

The following were among those who were redeemed by Matthew Cary, Oct., 1695, who had been taken prisoners at the capture of Fort Loyall in 1690: James Ross, James Alexander, Joseph Swarton (a boy), Mary Swarton (elder).

Among those who remained still in the hands of the French were the following, taken at Casco, viz.: Samuel Yorke, Samuel Souter (or Senter), Mary Swarton (a girl), Sara Davis (a girl), Thomas Baker (boy), Geo. Gray (boy).

All of these prisoners, with the exception of Samuel Yorke, were probably never returned. The intelligent English captives (children) were much sought after by French families. They adopted them, brought them up as their own children, sent them to the nunnery schools for their education, inculcated them in the attractions and formulas of the Romish church, so that they lost all memory and love for their former New England homes; and lived and died among their former enemies and later friends, and their descendants are to be found among the most cultured and refined families of the Province.

Samuel Yorke, another one of the Fort Loyall captives, remained ten years in Canada. In 1700 he escaped and came to Albany, where he addressed the following memorial, viz.:

"To his Excellency the Earl of Belmont, Capt. General and Governor in chief of the Province of New York &c

[1] N. E. Hist. & Gen. Reg., 24, 286, 291.

"The memorial of Samuel Yorke, Carpenter, showeth, That I was taken prisoner at Casco Bay by a party of French and Indians under the command of Monsieur de Portneuf in the month of May, 1690, and carried to Canada, where, and in the hunting Indian countries, I have lived ever since till the 29th day of this last July (1700), that I made my escape to come hither, and during the last ten years and a half I was employed in cutting masts for the use of the French King navy."

He then gives a description of the western Indians in Canada among whom he had resided.[1]

[1] N. Y. Col. Man., IV, 749.

A bill was passed by the general court of Massachusetts, Oct. 22d, 1690, "ordering, one-fourth part of wages for the present, to be paid to the soldiers wives and relatives who were slain or taken at Casco." (Mass. Archives, 36, 190).

Friends and fellow-citizens: I have detained you long in the recital of the history of Fort Loyall, and the brave deeds that were done by its glorious defenders nearly two centuries since, who were then the humble men of Falmouth. Truly the name "Loyall" was well chosen, and its significance was made apparent when in the last days of that fearful struggle it went down amid flames and smoke, carnage and slaughter, and the life blood of its defenders was poured out. They were loyal men who defended it. They were loyal to the English flag; they were loyal to the Protestant religion; they were loyal to the new sovereigns of England, William of Orange and Mary, his wife. Nobly they upheld the banner of St. George against the white flag of the Bourbons. They were loyal to the Massachusetts Government, notwithstanding all the neglect they had received from them. They were loyal to their own homes and firesides.

It is but a few hours since when, not only here, but in nearly all parts of the Union, has been laid upon the graves of those who laid down their lives for our country the mementoes of our gratitude and reverence to the "Union dead;"[1] and we here are hoping

[1] Memorial Day occurred on the Saturday previous, May 30th.

soon to perpetuate in enduring stone a lasting monument to their sacred memories. Can we not, without forgetting the greater responsibility that exists with us, do something to preserve in our memories and the history of our city, some remembrance of the deeds of our ancestors? Can we not erect in some place a simple, suitable memorial to those who two centuries ago laid down their lives and sacrificed themselves as victims. Their bones have mouldered to the dust among the unknown dead. Their memories let us not as citizens of Portland ever forget.

## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

On page 15, in letter of S. P. Mayberry, in which he makes the statement that "nothing but tradition that there was any records" is controverted by the following from Mr. Sargent: "There is record evidence of their existence, for the Proprietors of North Yarmouth in a petition, 1722, request that a copy be made of their records (then in Charlestown), but the original kept in Boston, 'that so the ancient records of the said Town may be kept safe, and secured from the danger of falling into the hands of the Indians, and other casualties that may happen, which was the unhappy case of Casco Bay, *whose records were lost*, the loss of which has run them into great confusion, and has almost proved their utter ruin and destruction.'"

Page 19. According to additions and corrections, Wentworth Gen., 1, 662, it was John Sayward, instead of Willam, whom Mary Wheelwright married; he was her second husband instead of the first. See note to James Plaisted on page 58, ante.

Page 20. Major Nicholas Shapleigh was accidentally killed at the launching of a vessel at Kittery, 29th April, 1682. W. M. S.

Page 21. In note 1, 7th line, for "association" read "assembly."

Page 25. In the 11th line after the word "time" add "for."

Page 26. In the 3d line of note, for "Sokosis," read "Sokokis."

Page 31. In the 18th line for "important" read "imprudent."

Page 41, note 3. Elisha Andrews' lot lay east of John Tucker's at Falmouth Foreside (Eastern Claims). He was the grandson of Samuel Andrews, who emigrated from London, 14th April, 1635, to Saco, where he died the second year after, and his widow, Jane, became the (probably) second wife of Arthur Mackworth. See a note concerning this family — *Recorder*, II, page 88, W. M. S.

Ibid, note 4. Sergeant Nathaniel White had the command of the half-moon garrison, instead of Elisha Gallison. See page 66, ante.

Ibid, note 5. George Ingerson, aged 61, deposes, 1678, that his father was Richard of Salem, where he was born. (Mass. Archives, 16; Estates, II, No. 71). This Richard Inkersall (sic.), was a Bedfordshire man, hired by the Massachusetts Company and sent over in May, 1629, with his family. (Suffolk Deeds, 1, XVI).

Page 58, note 1. In last line for "Dremmer," read "Dummer."

Ibid, note 2. In 5th line, for "Scammon," read "Scamman."

Page 65, Note 1. In 1st line after the word "of" insert "Annapolis basin on."

Page 70, note 3. In 2d line for III, read IV.

Page 92, note 1. In 5th line for "1659" read "1689."

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